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# USSR Report

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15 MAY 1987

# USSR REPORT

## KOMMUNIST

No 2, January 1987

[Translation of KOMMUNIST, the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).]

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## YEAR OF STRUGGLE AND HOPES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 3-7

[Text] Our country is experiencing a period of inordinate intensiveness of events in terms of the depth and comprehensive nature of the changes and their innovative essence. Restructuring, and a new way of thinking are meeting with increasing response throughout the world, shedding new light on many processes in global development and phenomena in international life which they are increasingly influencing. It is becoming more and more obvious that international relations have entered a new stage in the search of ways and means of surmounting obstacles standing in the way of a reliable and guaranteed future for all mankind. Finally, it has become possible to release the powerful forces for their transformation, which had been held back, making them consistent with material and intellectual standards attained by civilization. We are witnessing an impressive thrust forward in the development and dissemination of a new type of political thinking, which is so greatly needed in order to ensure the survival of the human species in the nuclear space age. Furthermore, the real outlines of a world free from nuclear weapons, which the community of nations can create, have become apparent. In other words, the concept of the outlines of what is necessary, realistic and possible in contemporary international relations, has appeared and been asserted.

The 27th CPSU Congress, which is stimulating the all-round renovation of Soviet society, developed Lenin's legacy also in terms of the present international conditions. It formulated and substantiated a new concept for ensuring comprehensive international security. This concept is based on the understanding that the nature of modern weapons does not grant any state the hope of protecting itself simply by military and technical means or the creation of even the most powerful defenses, in as much as it is no longer possible to win either nuclear war itself, or the arms race. Consequently, increasingly security becomes a political problem, which can be solved exclusively through political means.

The world today is too fragile and small for war and power politics; the interdependence of all countries and nations has become its distinguishing feature. This lays the foundation for the new type of political thinking which is being asserted today as the only possible and acceptable basis for truly civilized relations between countries and nations and their constructive

interaction on a global scale. Correspondingly, the CPSU and the Soviet state are continuing to do everything possible to block the sliding of mankind toward the brink of nuclear catastrophe and to help it take an essentially different line of development, exclusively focused on creative work. In his 11 January 1987 message to UN Secretary General X. Perez de Quellar, M.S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, informed the UN and the world community of our country's actual accomplishments in 1986--the International Year of Peace--in order to rescue mankind from the threat of nuclear war and to lay the foundations of comprehensive security for all.

The most important landmarks along this way were two major events which took place last year: the 15 January declaration by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, which presented a program for a nuclear free world of an unparalleled scale and the elimination of all types of mass destruction weapons by the end of this century, and a discussion of problems of nuclear disarmament at the Soviet-American meeting in Reykjavik. Although different in form, these events were closely related in their essence. They embodied the intention emphasized at the 27th Congress, of "seeking the elimination of nuclear weapons persistently and with initiative, radically limiting the arms race and building a reliable international security for all countries." Concretized in it was the congress' appeal to the heads of states of the other social system: "To take a responsible approach to the present key problem of global politics: the problem of war and peace."

One year has passed since the declaration of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary was made public. Now, one year later, in the light of past events, we realize better its significance not only in terms of the contemporary international situation but, particularly, the prospects it opens for peaceful development. The true potential it contains is becoming increasingly clear.

Historically, to what can we compare this suggestion addressed to the entire world of entering the third millennium without nuclear weapons, on the basis of mutually acceptable and strictly controlled agreements? Could it be with Lenin's initiative in formulating the question of universal disarmament at the 1922 international conference in Genoa? Or else the draft convention which the USSR submitted to the United Nations as early as 1946 on the total and unconditional banning of the production and use of nuclear weapons? In any case, in terms of the breadth and depth of the problems it encompasses, the essential nature and scale of the approach to solving it, it can be compared precisely to this type of epoch-making ideas and initiatives which point at the main aspect of the complexities of the international situation and suggest radical yet realistic measures to solve them in the interest of all nations.

It can be said that from the very first days following its publication, the Soviet plan for the elimination of nuclear weapons acquired a self-propelling power. It was justly rated throughout the world as a document of historical significance. For the first time after decades of living in the nuclear age, an expanded and specific program for coming out of the dangerous situation into which mankind is being led by the race in nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons was formulated in clear terms of time, a program which is realistic and practically attainable. Therefore, it was suggested that the

problem of ensuring the safety of nations under existing circumstances be solved on an essentially new basis, taking into consideration the connection between peace and the common destinies of mankind today.

As a result of all this, the nuclear disarmament program formulated by the Soviet Union was like a "moment of truth," which forces the opposite side to indicate its true political objectives. The Soviet initiative, which stung to the quick millions of people, triggered great interest among political and social leaders of different conceptual orientations. The official circles in the West, in the United States above all, unable to ignore it, assured the public that they will make a "thorough study" of the ideas and suggestions formulated by Moscow, describing them as "interesting." Immediately, however, the mass information media at the service of militaristic forces mounted a powerful propaganda campaign against these suggestions. Systematic efforts were initiated to dilute their essence and to instill in the minds of the people skepticism and mistrust in the attainability of the objectives. While praising the Soviet initiative, efforts were made to avoid a discussion of its main purpose, which is to make the planet safe for the life of the present and future generations.

Were these tactics successful? Today, one year later, we can say with full justification that they were not, above all because the declaration of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary contained a substantiated and convincing answer to the questions raised by the vital concerns and worries of the overwhelming majority of people on earth and because the purpose of the Soviet initiative was, and remains, to be of service not to any given group or egotistical interest but to the basic needs of mankind. The viability of our 15 January 1986 proposals is also explained with the practical attainability of the program for a gradual nuclear disarmament, which no imperialist propaganda slanders could question, and which was so clearly confirmed at the Soviet-American summit meeting in the capital of Iceland. The Reykjavik experience clearly proved that a real possibility exists of adopting qualitatively new relations among countries and nations and rescuing mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe. This most clearly supported the view on the profound and long-term beneficial influence exerted by the Soviet plan on the course of international affairs.

Today we can say with full justification that efforts to question the practical interest shown by the USSR in switching the problem of destroying nuclear weapons to a practical track are suffering a crushing defeat. It would be erroneous, however, to assume that such a defeat, not to mention the definitive routing of such efforts, could come without a struggle, as though by itself.

The implementation of the program contained in the 15 January declaration became the main trend of Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Union is devoting a great deal of efforts to prevent the positive impetus of this program from being diluted in the whirlpool of international life. At the same time, one after another, suggestions are being submitted for discussion by governments and nations, concretizing the various aspects of this program and facilitating the practical approaches to its implementation. This includes a plan for reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, the suggestions of

Warsaw Pact members in their appeal to the members of NATO and to all European countries, proposals on the elimination of chemical weapons and the coordination at the Stockholm conference of a package of steps aimed at strengthening confidence and security in the military area in Europe, stipulating efficient and suitable verification steps and many other Soviet initiatives.

Justifiably, the most important among these steps is the repeated extension by our country of a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions. The Soviet moratorium, which began in August 1985 and which was repeatedly extended in the course of the year, became an irrefutable proof of the serious and responsible attitude taken by the CPSU and the Soviet state toward the problem of war and peace. Furthermore, it was a clear confirmation of the efficient power of the new style of political thinking and its ability practically to encourage improvements in the international climate. It was only the position lacking perspective in its unyieldingness which was adopted by the U.S. administration that forced the Soviet Union to declare on 18 December 1986 that in the interest of preserving the military-strategic balance, under the circumstances created by the continuing nuclear arms race by the American side, it would be forced to resume nuclear tests subsequent to the first explosion on U.S. territory this year.

The meeting which M.S. Gorbachev and U.S. President Reagan held in the Icelandic capital in October played a special part in the chronicle of recent events. It took no more than 10 months fully to confirm the accuracy of the statement made in the January declaration: "It is possible to find efficient ways of eliminating nuclear weapons if the solution of this problem is undertaken without delay." What makes the Reykjavik meeting remarkable? Above all the factual acknowledgment by the American side that a world without nuclear weapons would become much safer. What could such a conclusion prove other than the absurdity of a continued nuclear arms race?

Furthermore, the participants in the meeting reached a specific view on the ways of eliminating nuclear weapons. They agreed on a 10-year period for reaching a 50 percent reduction and the subsequent total elimination of all offensive nuclear weapons. A mutually acceptable base was also found for dismantling medium-range missiles in Europe and achieving a balance for such missiles in the East. Consequently, a specific program for action was earmarked, based on the 15 January Soviet declaration, and amended in the course of the Reykjavik exchange of views. Finally, and most importantly, in the light of the Iceland meeting, the nations could see clearly that the practical possibility exists of converting to qualitatively new relations among countries, including leading powers such as the USSR and the United States, a possibility which can be realized if not tomorrow at least on the day after.

The subsequent withdrawal of the American side from the reciprocal understanding reached in Reykjavik on the principles and deadlines for progress toward a nuclear-free world indicates, in addition to everything else, the absence in the U.S. administration of the will and desire needed for making responsible decisions. Making crucial and truly historical decisions as early as 1986 was prevented by the aspiration of the ruling U.S. circles,

relying on the notorious "Strategic Defense Initiative," of gaining military superiority over the Soviet Union. However, the package of Soviet suggestions, on which the Reykjavik agreement was based, and the suggestions formulated for the soonest possible elimination of the threat of nuclear catastrophe remains on the conference table. "We intend to strive toward this objective," M.S. Gorbachev's message to the UN secretary general read, "starting from the level reached in Reykjavik under the symbol of openness and democracy, in order to attain peace for ever." As was stipulated at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session, as a result of the Reykjavik meeting "a qualitatively new situation developed. The struggle for nuclear disarmament has reached a higher level, on the basis of which now we must continue to increase our efforts with a view to achieving radical reductions in and total elimination of nuclear weapons.

Events since the 15 January 1986 declaration and the 27th CPSU Congress have confirmed that the course charted by the Soviet Communist Party is accurate and that the party is acting properly. They also proved once again that the struggle for peace is no easy stroll but a real struggle, hard, at times fierce, demanding wisdom and persistence and consistency and responsibility in decision-making. The policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in this struggle is stubbornly and, sometimes aggressively, opposed by a different policy, a policy of subverting the military-strategic balance and of preparations for war. The aggressive imperialist forces which are applying it are prepared to risk the fate of mankind solely for the sake of imposing upon other nations their way of life and order. In an effort to acquire a striking space weapon by all possible means they are demonstrating their clear unwillingness to take into consideration the course of historical developments and are continuing to aspire to gain social revenge.

Under these circumstances, the growing historical significance of the tremendous, truly gigantic efforts made by our party becomes all the more important. Its purpose is to make international relations dynamic not through pious wishes but impressive broad actions, and to channel them along a course consistent with the vital interests of the peoples, of all mankind. As always, the CPSU remains loyal to the Leninist essence, spirit and traditions of its foreign policy, the foundations for which were laid nearly seven decades ago, with the Great October Revolution. In appealing to mankind with the Decree on Peace, Soviet Russia called at that time for a radical change in relations among countries in the international arena, subordinating them to the aspiration to preserve and maintain universal peace on a just and democratic basis. Today as well, under the changed circumstances which require a profound reassessment of the existing situation and a new way of thinking which would end the concepts which prevailed in the pre-nuclear age, the CPSU and its Leninist staff--the Central Committee--remain infinitely loyal to this great and noble objective.

The foreign policy strategy of the party of Soviet communists has always been distinguished by its open and honest nature, a turn to new ideas and suggestions, not only via traditional diplomatic channels but also directly addressed to world public opinion and the people's masses. It is precisely this nature of Soviet foreign policy that decisively contributes to the



current process of a change in the mentality of millions of people, including politicians and major public personalities, thus setting prerequisites for surmounting the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

In the past year the people throughout the world began to develop a better sense of the type of abyss which would open should a nuclear war hit mankind. Greater understanding was reached of the need to increase the efforts to prevent a fatal development of events. Thus, in defining the course of action of sociopolitical forces in international relations, the human factor is playing an increasing role. This as well is a vivid manifestation of the crystallizing of a new way of thinking in the social consciousness of the people's masses.

The situation in the world remains alarming. In these circumstances as well, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the widespread antinuclear movement, which has been actively joined by dozens of countries and hundreds of millions of people, are continuing to struggle with firmness and initiative for a nuclear-free world and for the survival of mankind. The land of the soviets and our people are sincerely extending a hand of friendship and cooperation to anyone who favors immediate talks on the total halting of nuclear tests, reducing and totally eliminating nuclear weapons and developing international relations on the basis of the principles of equality and universal security. The door to talks remains open, so that each subsequent year may become a landmark on the way to the total liberation of mankind from nuclear weapons and the elimination of the threat of universal destruction.

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## RESPONSIBILITY FOR MANKIND'S SURVIVAL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 8-9

[Article by Lev Nikolayevich Tolkunov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union]

[Text] Life demands of all countries a high degree of responsibility, sensible restraint and thorough consideration in foreign policy actions. Such is the nature of the times and no other way is possible. Mankind needs a guarantee for survival and for the continuation of the species. The threat of nuclear catastrophe and the destruction of our obviously unique and habitable planet in the universe is all too great and real.

Imperialism has imposed on the world an arms race of unparalleled scale and technical refinement. Its hellish train is continuing to gather speed. With the help of military-technical facilities and "superweapons" and a technological leap, the U.S. ruling circles would like to achieve absolute security for themselves, putting all others in a situation of total danger. Such are the foundations of their policy aimed at violating military-strategic parity and urging on the arms race.

A program of unprecedented scope of modernizing and increasing strategic offensive armaments is being implemented with all possible speed in the United States. New MX and Midgetman Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles, long-range cruise missiles, B-1B and Stealth strategic bombers and Trident-1 and Trident-2 nuclear missile submarines are being built. Possibilities are being studied for the development of a climate control weapon and means of waging a "weather war." In other words, efforts are being made to apply the growing opportunities for controlling the natural elements to purposes of destruction and elimination. Finally, "exotic" weapons are being designed--radio-wave, ray, infrasound and genetic.

The little meaning which the administration in Washington ascribes to its previously given promises, signed agreements and universally accepted morality standards was confirmed one more time by the fact that, violating the Salt-2 treaty, the United States lifted the barriers which had restrained the nuclear arms race in its main development for a number of years--in the area of offensive strategic armaments. Washington is opening the gates to an unrestricted strategic armament race, thus making the situation unpredictable.

The threat greatly increases as a result of Washington's intentions to pursue is chimerical objective--attaining military superiority and turning outer space into a military fortress and a bridgehead for American hegemony. The Pentagon strategists intend to place in the skies hundreds of nuclear reactors which would power laser systems and missile-carrying satellites which could strike targets both in space and on earth.

Through the fault of the United States the situation in the world has become extremely difficult. Storm clouds are gathering on the political horizon. Is there a solution? Is it still possible to halt the sliding of mankind toward the nuclear abyss? This involves the basic question of the future of all nations on earth. It is our party and country that are providing a clear, daring and innovative answer to it. We are telling mankind that the world cannot exist forever on top of mountains of weapons. The creation of historically unparalleled destructive means calls for making essential corrections to the old traditional concepts of conditions which determine the preservation of peace. A new approach and new concepts are needed, for the balance achieved in military-strategic forces essentially no longer ensures equal safety but equal threat to each country. The logic of the arms race is creating a situation in which even parity is no longer a reliable factor of military-political containment.

The solution rests in the new concept of international security formulated by the Soviet Union. It is based on ensuring equal security for all by reducing armaments and by disarming, including the total elimination of all types of mass destruction weapons. The essence of the corresponding comprehensive initiatives formulated by the USSR is contained in M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 historical declaration.

This document answers the main question asked by all peoples: Where do we go from here? Do we go toward the nuclear abyss or a nuclear-free world, to the doom of mankind or to its salvation?

The philosophy of the declaration is a philosophy of life in its entire variety. It is a philosophy of rejection of nuclear fear and of balancing on top of this fear. At the same time, it is also a philosophy of action. Specific actions are the core of the declaration which contains a clear program for the total elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world in the next 15 years, by the end of this century. This would be implemented in three stages and for each stage scientifically substantiated, politically weighed and practically attainable steps have been suggested.

M.S. Gorbachev's declaration, expanded with the idea formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress of creating a comprehensive system of national security which would encompass the military, political, economic and humanitarian areas, met with wide approval and support in both West and East. Anyone who cares for the fate of civilization can see in this document a clear understanding of final objectives, the highest of which is the creation of a nuclear-free world and a daring and realistic program which calls for uniting the efforts of peace-loving countries and peoples in solving the most important problem: preserving the life of mankind.

Practical experience is a criterion of the sincerity, honesty and good intentions of any political leadership. Its language is objective, impartial and irrefutable. It stipulates that whereas the Soviet Union observed a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions for about 18 months, the United States stubbornly pursued its nuclear tests at the Nevada testing grounds, rudely scorning world public opinion.

The reasonable question arises: Does mankind have to be hostage to the military-industrial complex across the ocean? Should all countries, big and small, and all nations tolerate this situation? No, and no, once again! Millions and millions of people in different countries are increasingly realizing that today it is a question of the self-preservation of mankind, which requires urgent and decisive action. The historical declaration made by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, which became an outstanding page in the chronicles of international contemporary relations, is an inspiring program in the struggle for this objective.

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## ONE YEAR ON THE WAY TO A NUCLEAR-FREE AGE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 10-12

[Article by Academician Yevgeniy Ivanovich Chazov, co-chairman of the international movement of "Physicians of the World for the Prevention of Nuclear War"]

[Text] Mankind is preparing to enter the 21st century, a century which, as forecast by numerous experts, will bring about unparalleled progress in civilization and a comprehensive blossoming of culture. Against the background of such broad future accomplishments, every person on earth dreams of happiness, usually of simple happiness for himself and his near and dear. Different ideas are invested in this concept of "happiness." One, however, which rallies the overwhelming majority of people on earth, is that of peace. The happiness of nations and peace are inseparable concepts.

This explains the enthusiasm and hope with which the innovative comprehensive plan for nuclear disarmament which will take us through the 21st century, and which opens real opportunities for rescuing mankind from self-destruction, formulated by M.S. Gorbachev a year ago, was welcomed with such enthusiasm and hope. This possibility is realistic above all because of the serious readiness to abandon such weapons shown by a most powerful nuclear state--the Soviet Union. The people believed in the splendid possibility of peace without nuclear weapons. If one nuclear power is ready to take this step, it meant that others could take it as well. This could be done jointly without, thereby, threatening anyone's security.

The Soviet proposals met with a warm response among medical scientists and physicians, members of the "Physicians of the World for the Prevention of Nuclear War" movement. This movement, which was founded in 1980 (in which Soviet physicians actively participate), has persistently warned the world public, on the basis of medical scientific data, of the fatal consequences of nuclear war. Its conclusion that medicine would be helpless in aiding the victims of such a war, the catastrophic consequences of which could not be limited, had a sobering influence on a number of governmental leaders and politicians who were rattling nuclear weapons.

Physicians from many countries in the world welcomed with profound approval the broad suggestions formulated by the USSR. In its telegram to M.S. Gorbachev, the executive committee of the international movement of physicians welcomed his 15 January 1986 declaration as "state wisdom displayed at a critical time in human history."

The statements delivered at our congresses and symposia and the talks we held with activists of the international movement of physicians lead to the firm conclusion that the idea of an unconditional ban on nuclear weapons and their physical elimination by the end of the century is supported by the physicians and meets the expectations of millions of people--their patients.

Although our movement is professional and not political, it welcomes any purposeful actions taken on the state level which practically help to eliminate the threat of nuclear war. The movement rallies people from 49 countries of different convictions and with diverging political views. Some of them are very conservative while others do not conceal their suspicions concerning the world of socialism. However, all of us are united on the main question--the attitude toward nuclear war and nuclear weapons. The movement was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1985 for its significant contribution to objectively informing the public about all aspects of the nuclear threat.

The question is sometimes asked why is it that Soviet foreign policy initiatives are so similar to the program of the physicians' movement? Does this not indicate that, consciously or subconsciously, it is being led by the USSR which is using it for its own governmental and ideological purposes? This was suitably answered by an American physician during the visit of our delegation to the United States: "We would have been happy," he said, "to be supported not only by Mr Gorbachev but also by President Reagan."

The similarity of positions indicates not a dependency but the broadest possible public support for the idea of nuclear disarmament. It is an excellent thing that the physicians' movement has its allies--entire countries which, through their authority and actions, are helping to bring closer the dream of a world free from nuclear weapons.

The movement has long paid particular attention to the problem of nuclear tests. It welcomed the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions, considering it a historical opportunity for halting the qualitative development of nuclear armaments, and called upon the American administration to follow this example. The organization of "Physicians for Social Responsibility," which is a member of our movement in the United States, distributed a poster which carried the brief statement "The USSR stopped testing. What about us?" Banning nuclear weapon testing remains our fixed "medical prescription."

It is logical for responsible state leaders always to listen to the voice of the public, of the scientists. They must also be aware of the feeling of indignation experienced by the members of our movement, caused by the unwillingness of the United States to use the historical opportunity and by its thoughtless pursuit of nuclear tests, abandoning Salt-2 and developing "Star Wars" weapons.

The physicians are calling upon the governments of all countries to display a new type of political thinking. More than 30 years ago Albert Einstein said that new criteria of thinking will be required if mankind wishes to survive. However, the ruling circles of many countries are still thinking in terms of obsolete categories not too different from the approach of stone-age man:

grab more and you will become stronger. Particularly necessary today is a new way of thinking, when all of us have become prisoners of military technology and hostages of nuclear weapons.

Our country is demonstrating a new way of thinking with the formulation of a broad program for the elimination of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons.

The new way of thinking is a global thinking, an understanding of the interdependence among all countries in the contemporary world and the acknowledgment that the security of some countries cannot be structured at the expense of the security of others. Security can only be universal.

The new way of thinking means a break with harmful stereotypes and abandoning efforts to draw a "picture of the enemy." "Anti-Soviet feelings," said Professor B. Lawn, the American co-chairman of the international movement of "Physicians of the World for the Prevention of Nuclear War," "is one of the key, if not the main obstacle to supporting the movement for nuclear disarmament in the United States.... I am convinced that we shall not be successful until an objective view of the Soviet Union has not become the main item on the agenda of the antinuclear movement."

The Chernobyl accident proved--tragically and cruelly--that an uncontrolled atom is a great evil, that it means the death of people and disease. A nuclear war would be a million Chernobyls. The Chernobyl lesson calls for intensifying the struggle against the nuclear threat.

The physicians of the world favor the intensification of Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space disarmament. They are not experts in disarmament problems. They are convinced, however, that the Reykjavik agreements should be strengthened and developed. On the eve of the new year, the executive committee of the international movement of physicians, which met in Rome, called upon the USSR and the United States to set specific deadlines for the elimination of nuclear weapons, emphasizing that a 10-year period would be a realistic and desirable amount of time. Indeed, only 14 years separate us from the end of the century. Will nuclear weapons be with us in the third millennium? The physicians are confident that the total elimination of nuclear weapons is a realistic objective. The existence of this weapon is not a necessary stage in the development of an intelligent civilization. However, it had brought it to the fragile threshold beyond which it is threatened by self-destruction. The extent to which progress toward a nuclear-free world can be made determines our common survival. I am confident that the contribution of physicians to this process will increase.

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## SCIENCE: ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 12-13

[Article by Academician Vitaliy Yosifovich Goldanskiy, member of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for the Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat]

[Text] "The 20th century gave mankind the energy of the atom. However, this great accomplishment of the mind could become a weapon for the self-destruction of the people." This is a quote from the 15 January 1986 declaration by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. In the past year a number of scientific publications have come out, convincingly proving the accuracy of this warning. In fact, about 60,000 nuclear warheads have been stockpiled throughout the world. Even if a small percentage of this arsenal were to be exploded the consequences to life on earth would be catastrophic. The model of a "nuclear winter" computed by scientists does not leave even the slightest doubt of the accuracy of this conclusion. The steps which were suggested by M.S. Gorbachev in his declaration are a scientific program for action in the situation which has developed in the world. I would even call it a program with a profound natural-science base.

M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 statement is not only a document of tremendous political importance but also one of tremendous power and vitality. One could say that it determined last year's most important events, such as the Reykjavik meeting and the repeatedly extended Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions. It enhanced the antiwar movement on the planet, including the activities of scientists for the defense of peace and against the nuclear threat. Our knowledge of the possible consequences of a thermonuclear conflict increased and expanded; the scientists have done a great deal to share this knowledge with the broadest possible public.

Why is it that the arguments and facts provided by modern science have still not convinced Western politicians of the need immediately to undertake the formulation of steps to implement the program of halting nuclear tests and for disarmament? Clearly, restructuring thinking, political thinking in this case, is a most difficult task. Since time immemorial mankind has been dominated by its military past, military present and military future. It is true that in the past war was indeed the extension of politics by other means. By inertia the people speak of "the next war." Today, however, the concept of "war" has become nonsense. In the past, when people spoke of war they



presumed the existence of winners and losers. In a nuclear war, however, there could be neither winners nor losers, for it would be totally suicidal.

Usually, confrontation is triggered by lack of understanding and lack of understanding is, in the majority of cases, the result of ignorance. I believe that the mental stereotypes of the prenuclear age are a major psychological element in the escalation of the arms race and in the fact that the likelihood of a nuclear war is not diminishing.

All the suggestions contained in M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 declarations remain valid. There is still time to think, to reinterpret the depth and scale of these proposals and to assess most seriously the practical steps with which the CPSU and the Soviet state backed their suggestions over the past year; it is still possible to enter the third millennium without the mortal burden of nuclear arsenals.

One of the most important items on which I have dwelled in particular detail has been the need to end nuclear tests. Washington's claims to the effect that nuclear tests are needed to "contain" a possible war sound, from the viewpoint of a specialist, stupid, to say the least. It is largely thanks to the scientists that the public was made aware of the possible catastrophic consequences of nuclear war. Today our duty is to substantiate the fact that it is not "containment" that is considered in testing nuclear weapons but their improvement: increasing the power of the ammunition without increasing its size, making the charges themselves smaller and lighter, which increases the accuracy and the striking distance of existing carriers and the further development of the spiral in the race to develop new carriers. Nuclear explosions are used to test the "survivability" of warheads and systems of communications, guidance and targeting under war-time conditions. The main aspect of such tests, however, is the effort to develop new generation of weapons, based on qualitatively new principles. I mean by this the development of a wide variety of a pulsing, striking and destroying impacts within the framework of the notorious "Strategic Defense Initiative," such as x-ray lasers, excited with radiation generated in a nuclear explosion.

From the viewpoint of contemporary science there are no arguments which would question the attainability of the program which was formulated 1 year ago in M.S. Gorbachev's declaration. I trust that it will be accepted by people of different nations, religious beliefs and convictions, by the population of a small planet, a population which, as mountain climbers say, must climb the mountain of life tied to the same rope.

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## REAL OPPORTUNITY FOR MANKIND

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 14-15

[Article by Vladimir Vasilyevich Karpov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Writers' Union and member of the Foreign Affairs Commission, USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities]

[Text] One of the characteristic features of our time is the ever accelerating and irreversible discarding of many concepts and scales, measures and standards, such as those related to the interrelationship between man and nature, space and velocity, duty and obligation, principles governing contacts among people, and governmental wisdom. What about technical progress? In the past we mentioned it only as a benefit. It turns out, however, that science and technology could lead us to...an abyss. What a paradox! There is progress and, suddenly, a likely death of mankind! Therefore, as civilization developed, not only did the outlook of man and mankind broaden and not only did they become "more intelligent" as a whole, but some quite important reference points were lost, directly related to common sense. No, in no case should we allow our common chariot to hurl itself toward the abyss!

Under the conditions of a difficult and alarming international situation, the party of Soviet communists, relying on Marxist-Leninist philosophy, found and suggested to mankind a solution which would be entirely attainable and acceptable to all countries regardless of social system and political foundations. I am referring to the entire set of proposals included in M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 declaration.

There are many problems today on earth the solution of which requires universal efforts. Presently no country can develop in a state of total economic, political and spiritual isolation from the rest of the community. There is no person--and, naturally, no literary worker--who can remain indifferent to the expectations and concerns of his time.

We, writers, whose profession leads us not only to study the essence of phenomena in life but also the human mind, feel that even without wars mankind, living in a state of constant nervous stress and fear of the threat of nuclear conflict, is already, I would say, in a condition preceding a heart attack. The bombs prepared against the people impart an emanation, as a

result of which the world is beginning to be afflicted with many moral ills, including nuclear psychosis.

Therefore, what to do?

It is said that mankind's main error is that it fails to draw lessons from history. Today, however, such an error must not be allowed. In the case of a nuclear catastrophe there would be no one to correct it. Let us recall the latest and fiercest lesson which we were taught by history in World War II. How did it all begin? With the desire of Hitlerite fascism to conquer the world. What did it lead to? To unparalleled blood shedding and the destruction and death of millions of people. How did it end? The allies in the antifascist coalition put a straitjacket on the criminals of war and put them on the defendants' bench and, as we know, the international tribunal in Nurnberg punished them severely.

Based on this historical lesson, it seems to me that the time has come to rally all progressive forces on earth, as was the case during the struggle against the fascist aggressors. Those who are dragging our chariot toward the precipice must be stopped before it is too late, for the sake of saving civilization and rescuing our beautiful, good and pleasant earth which feeds all of us, for the sake of our children and the future of mankind.

Unfortunately, by the fault of the United States, specific decisions on the most vital problems of our time, related to the elimination of the nuclear threat, were not adopted at the Reykjavik meeting between the heads of the two greatest powers. The American administration turned out unprepared to accept the daring and large-scale proposal submitted by the Soviet side on radically reducing and, subsequently, eliminating nuclear weapons, preventing the militarization of outer space and eliminating the threat of a new war.

Does the outcome of the Reykjavik dialogue mean that the only note that can be heard now is one of pessimism? On the contrary, it is precisely now that the time has come for urgent action. It is precisely now that anyone on earth--in the socialist, capitalist or developing worlds--must truly get to work and promote and end to the arms race and remove from mankind the nuclear threat.

Writers have always been affected by social problems of life, the well-being and prosperity of their people and their homeland. Goete's Faustus tried to extend the moment of happiness; the dilemma of "to be or not to be" tortured the soul of Shakespeare's Hamlet; the characters created by Tolstoy's genius considered the problems of war and peace. On the eve of the 21st century the scale of writers' concerns and works has become universal, planetary. Not only politics but problems of morality demand a new style of thinking consistent with contemporary problems which are primarily those of peace, ecological balance and moral health.

The broad suggestions contained in M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 declaration are an instructive and clear example of such a new style of thinking and practical action. All that year the peoples of the earth kept in their hearts salutary hopes born of the Soviet initiatives. Today as well these hopes are alive in every home and family, wherever people want to work

peacefully, raise their children, enjoy art and the beauty of nature. How natural and simple all this is! And, it turns out, how difficult and complex it is to preserve all of this for the people.

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## SERVING A NOBLE CAUSE WITH ALL OF ONE'S CREATIVITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 15-16

[Article by Tair Teymurovich Salakhov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Painters' Union, people's painter of the USSR]

[Text] Mankind has accumulated tremendous cultural and artistic values. It was only the experience of the bloody and destructive wars of the 20th century that made us realize how fragile they are and how difficult it is to protect, to rescue such treasures from military conflagrations. Today the greatest value--our entire spiritual and material civilization, life itself on earth--is being threatened. That is why at a time when the fate of mankind is being decided, the place of every honest artist is in the ranks of the active fighters for peace and against the threat of nuclear war. No other choice is open to us.

An active civic stance and support of the principles of social reality in art are the unquestionable qualities of the Soviet painter. It is they that determine our unconditional support of the peaceful foreign policy course charted by our party and state, characterizing the social activities of the masters of the arts and determining, to a decisive extent, the trend followed in creative work. It is precisely this that was proved at the "Masters of Culture for Peace" exhibition, which was held last autumn in Moscow, sponsored within the framework of the International Year of Peace. The works which were exhibited by the Soviet masters of culture proved their faith in the triumph of reason over the sinister forces of war. They were a call for the mobilization of all healthy forces of mankind in the uncompromising struggle for the salvation of civilization. The exhibit also reflected the growing cohesion among men of arts and men of goodwill of different countries and their firm opposition to the aggressive plans of militaristic circles.

A world without nuclear weapons, without the mortal threat to all life, which could come out of space; a world confidently contemplating the future: such is the prospect offered to mankind, worthy of dedicating all of one's creative efforts to the struggle for it; this is the type of future outlined in the ideas and suggestions contained in the 15 January 1986 declaration by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and subsequently developed in the decisions of the 27th Party Congress.

The cult of war and destruction is incompatible with creativity, with constructive work. True humanistic art has always served the unification and reciprocal understanding among people. Such reciprocal understanding becomes even more important today, when the interdependence and integrality of the contemporary world are so clearly manifested. In reflecting life in its entire variety and depicting man as the creator of this life, art involves everyone in the life of the human species. Here as well it is a most original means of unifying and rallying the people, for our time has faced mankind with a number of common global problems related, in particular, to the rapidly worsening condition of the natural environment and the disturbance of the balance in the relations between nature and man.

Above all, today the painters must serve even more energetically through their art the noble and truly universal objective of the struggle for the preservation of life on earth.

All nations of the world have today a common enemy: the threat of nuclear war, and a main task: the elimination of this threat. We see in this the commonality of the active social stance of painters of all countries. At their sixth congress, the masters of Soviet multinational graphic art adopted an "Appeal of the Sixth Congress of USSR Painters to the Painters of the World," which read as follows: "We call upon you, masters of the arts, regardless of your national affiliation and political convictions, aesthetic views and predilections, to make your contribution through your creative and social activities and the entire passion of your souls, to the prevention of nuclear catastrophe and to strengthen friendship and cooperation among peoples and help in promoting understanding among them.

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## GREAT HISTORICAL MISSION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 17-18

[Article by Academician Boris Nikolayevich Ponomarev, member of the Foreign Affairs Commission, USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities]

[Text] The Soviet Union and the socialist community, are the main force which counters the possibility of the destruction of life on earth. Our country is engaged in a truly titanic struggle for strengthening peace and the security of all nations.

One year ago, as we know, M.S. Gorbachev submitted a proposal on the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, which met with a broad response throughout the world. An expanded program was adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress, the purpose of which was to ensure the implementation of this historical objective; the concept of developing a comprehensive system of international security was formulated. In Reykjavik, at the meeting between the CPSU Central Committee secretary and the U.S. President, the practical suggestions of the USSR aimed at reducing and, subsequently, eliminating nuclear and other armaments on earth and preventing their deployment in space were formulated. An inspiring possibility opened for saving mankind from nuclear catastrophe. However, in the final account, President Reagan did not accept the Soviet proposals and, back home, began to retreat even from the agreements which had been reached in Reykjavik. The entire propaganda machine of the American administration is now trying to convince its own and other nations, in the face of the facts, that it is the Soviet Union which bears the responsibility for the lack of progress.

Facts, however, are stubborn things. They prove that the USSR was and continues to be in favor of reducing and eliminating nuclear and other armaments on earth and in space. The entire program on this matter was presented at the 27th CPSU Congress and our specific Reykjavik suggestions have not been tabled. Now it is up to the other side, the United States above all. The Soviet leadership favors a dialogue with all countries, including the United States and, in recent years, has frequently displayed wise initiatives in this connection.

Although the fabrications of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism are groundless and have no foundations whatsoever, they are by no means harmless. They are

poisoning the atmosphere of relations among nations and, particularly, between the peoples of the United States and the USSR; they are substantiating a historically unparalleled arms race and psychological preparations for nuclear war, confusing the people and trying to promote in them fear of and hostility toward the Soviet Union. Under these circumstances it is important to refute such claims and to counter them with truthful information, with facts and with a depiction of the true state of affairs and objective course of global developments.

Today half-a-billion people on earth are following the path of socialism and communism. The participants in the nonaligned movement favor a nuclear-free world and a way of life in their own countries free and independent of imperialism. Such are the steps of history and such is today the path of mankind. No fabrications by imperialist propaganda, aimed at defaming the cause of peace and progress, will halt the course of historical progress. Ideological differences among countries with different social systems exist and will remain as long as two opposite systems of ownership of means of production exist. However, solving such contradictions in our nuclear century through military action means leading all mankind to a nuclear catastrophe.

In expressing the will of the Soviet people, at its 19 November 1986 session the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted an appeal "To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World," in which it presented a broad program of steps to reduce and eliminate nuclear and other armaments. "In this exceptionally responsible and perhaps decisive moment in the history of mankind," the document reads, "the USSR Supreme Soviet turns to all parliaments and peoples with the appeal firmly to undertake a practical conversion to building a nuclear-free world and create equal and reliable security for all countries."

It is thus that the anti-Soviet and anticommunist campaign launched by reactionary forces of our time, headed by U.S. imperialism, is countered by the CPSU and the Soviet State with their vision of a contemporary world and a persistent and principle-minded line of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, and their formulation of the historical task of preventing a nuclear war.

In this connection, the New Delhi declaration, which was initialed by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Gandhi, India's prime minister, is of outstanding significance. The heads of the two great powers, whose combined population exceeds 1 billion people, addressed a warm appeal to the peoples and heads of all countries to take urgent actions for the creation of a world without mass destruction weapons and wars. The 10 points of the New Delhi declaration could be justifiably described as a charter in the struggle for building a nonviolent world free from nuclear weapons, in which the right of every nation to its own choice--social, political, or ideological--must be respected. "A great danger is threatening mankind. However, mankind has great strength to prevent the catastrophe and to open a path to a civilization free from nuclear weapons," the declaration reads. "The coalition of peace, which is gathering strength and uniting the efforts of the nonaligned movement, the group of six and all peace-loving countries, political parties and social organizations, give us grounds for hope and optimism. The time for decisive and urgent action has come."



Such is the program for a new style of thinking, and a policy of active action aimed at solving the most vital problem to all mankind: that of preventing a nuclear catastrophe and ensuring the peaceful future of coming generations.

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NEW THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF OUR TIME; MEETING OF EDITORS OF  
COMMUNIST AND WORKER PARTIES' JOURNALS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 19-29

[Continued from KOMMUNIST No 1, 1987]

[Text] Addresses

U. Cusatti, member of the Venezuelan Communist Party Central Committee and member of the editorial collegium of CANTACLARO, CPV Central Committee ideological journal:

Our party's 7th Congress, which was held in October 1985, pointed out the strengthened domination of multinational financial capital in the global capitalist economy. This is increasingly conflicting with the national interest of nations. The class struggle is intensifying in the international arena. The threat of nuclear catastrophe is increasing by the fault of imperialism. The U.S. administration is pursuing a course of intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean, undertaking endless attempts to hinder the development of the global revolutionary process, urging on the arms race and the burying of detente once and for all. It is promoting the global hegemony of American imperialism and shifting the arms race to outer space.

Under these circumstance, the broad popular masses are becoming increasingly convinced of the need to struggle for the prevention of nuclear war and the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence. With increasing clarity the nations are realizing that actions for peace and against the militarization of outer space are one of the most important areas in the struggle against imperialism and the power of monopolies, and for social progress. Even more so than yesterday, today it is inconceivable for the struggle waged by the communists to be restricted within a rigid national framework. That is why an organic part of our policy is solidarity with heroic Nicaragua, the people of Chile and other countries which are victims of the imperialist policy of diktat. New detachments of working people are joining in this struggle, aware of the urgent need for profound social changes and opposition to imperialism in all areas. In the future they could become reliable allies of the working class in making radical socioeconomic changes. That is why our party congress called for the further broadening of the mass antiwar movement. The Venezuelan communists firmly support the peaceful

policy of the Soviet Union, which has formulated many exclusively important suggestions aimed at strengthening peace and international security and which, for a long time, has observed a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, thus proving to the entire world its peace-loving nature.

The speaker, who went on to discuss topical problems of the struggle waged by the revolutionary forces in Venezuela, pointed out that as a result of the subordination of the Venezuelan economy to the diktat of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the multinational banks (MNB), an accelerated process of aggravation of the crisis of capitalism is taking place in the country. The living standard of many social strata has declined substantially; currently 20 percent of the population is unemployed. Prices are rising and the purchasing power of the working people is declining. Meanwhile, the profits earned by local and multinational financial capital are increasing.

The economic crisis is also affecting a certain segment of the petite and middle bourgeoisie, and the number of bankruptcies of private enterprises is increasing. A bourgeois democracy of a limited type is being promoted in the country, which is working in the interests of financial capital and state-monopoly capitalism. This violates the rights of the working people, as stipulated in the constitution, rights earned with a hard struggle.

The solution of the most crucial problems of our country is impossible without the unification of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces and, on this basis, the creation of a people's sovereign and democratic transitional government. In accordance with the concept of a unified revolutionary process formulated by the party, such a government, which would carry out anti-imperialist and antimonopoly tasks, would subsequently engage in making socialist changes.

The minimal program we are suggesting, the speaker went on to say, calls for a decisive struggle against transferring state enterprises to private companies, effective democratization of state and public institutions, respecting the right to strike, restoring trade union democracy and working class unity, pursuing a truly sovereign foreign policy, establishing closer ties with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the interest of safeguarding peace the world over, banning nuclear weapons and preventing the militarization of space.

J. Kase, member of the ideological commission of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and editor in chief of NOVA MYSL, theoretical and political journal of the CPCZ Central Committee:

Allow me, above all, to thank the editors of KOMMUNIST for having gathered all of us here for a collective discussion of the urgent problems of our dramatic time, a time of great concern for the fate of mankind but also of real hope for a better future.

The present period in the life of Czechoslovakia has set to our journal qualitatively new assignments, the successful implementation of which will require new approaches and work methods and style and a creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. Life has indicated that these are no simple

problems. We are frequently hindered by the barriers of old and obsolete approaches and stereotyped thinking. That is why the editors pay such great attention to the formulation of major long-range problems.

The main line of activities of the journal is to participate in the implementation of the strategy drafted by the 17th CPCZ Congress of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. Emphasizing the universal significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and its role in the development of the communist and worker movements, the entire global revolutionary process and the building of socialism and the continuity of the Great October Revolution and the ideas contained in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress will play an important part in the journal's work in 1987.

Particular significance ascribes to key problems of socialist economic theory. The journal proceeds from the fact that an intensive economy demands the energetic development of the science of economics. NOVA MYSL intends to reprint from the other fraternal journals articles on topical problems of socialist economic theory and to inform the broad public of the practical experience and theoretical developments of fraternal parties in matters of building socialism.

The articles will deal with problems such as the struggle for peace under the conditions of a threat of nuclear war, the influence of socialism on the development of the contemporary world, the profound changes being made in the structure of the population and the social composition of the communist parties in capitalist countries under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution, the new conditions governing political life and the new complex problems of developing countries, the global problems of mankind, etc.

Prime attention is ascribed to the role of the human factor and, in general, of the subjective factor in the implementation of the strategy of acceleration. The journal is paying greater attention to the problems of the young generation and to developing in it respect for revolutionary and democratic traditions, the fatherland and native soil and labor.

We in Czechoslovakia, the speaker said, feel that the theoretical front must contribute to the philosophical interpretation of the crucial problems of our time but that it has fallen behind the need of intensifying the economy and the tasks set in the political line of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

In reacting to the new phenomena and new tasks, the journal tries to contribute to the strengthening of the creative atmosphere in the social sciences.

The problems we are solving, the speaker said, are of international significance. That is why we sincerely welcome this meeting and the enhancement of the content and forms of cooperation among fraternal journals. The strengthening of creative contacts among all fraternal journals represented here or, for whatever reasons, not represented in our meeting, is a useful project. We believe that reciprocal information concerning journal activities and help in preparing articles commissioned by our friends, organizing bilateral and multilateral roundtable meetings, conferences and

symposia on topical problems would be fruitful in interpreting a number of theoretical problems. In my view, a roundtable meeting should deal with interesting topics, such as the strategy of acceleration of socioeconomic progress in the socialist countries; or else a symposium should be held on the scientific consideration of the facets of the new stage in the development of the international communist movement.

#### Questions. Discussion

I. Frolov. Comrade J. Kase has made interesting suggestions on the forms of voluntary and free bilateral and multilateral cooperation among fraternal theoretical publications. Naturally, we do not discuss or assess at our meetings specific problems directly pertaining to the activities of a given journal or party; nor do we formulate recommendations. We deal only with problems of general theoretical and political significance, the solution of which are of interest to all participants.

E. Pahad. I would like to mention briefly the fact that here some comrades discussed a major problem such as the right of nations to self-determination. Their statements were quite interesting. I agree that the principle of self-determination presumes noninterference in domestic affairs by anyone. However, we must not forget another equally important principle, another side to the right of nations to self-determination. If imperialism attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign country, each ruling party has legitimate grounds for asking its friends and allies to give it all the necessary assistance, including military, precisely for the sake of defending this right to self-determination. It is entirely reasonable, in this connection, to recall the presence of Cuban internationalists in Angola, who went there on the invitation of the country's legitimate government, to defend the Angolan revolution which forces inspired from the outside wanted to destroy with the direct involvement of the armed forces of the South African racist regime. The same could be said of the current situation in Mozambique, where mercenaries, trained and armed by South Africa, are operating with the open connivance of South African instructors.

Therefore, it is difficult to deny the right of any revolutionary government, faced with attempts against the self-determination of its nation, to turn to its allies for aid.

S. Tsukasov (PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM). My question is addressed to Comrade V. Benke. As we know, today the most important problems solved by the socialist countries is that of accelerating economic development and upgrading economic efficiency. One of the aspects of the reforms in this area involves increased freedom of individual labor activity not only in agriculture but also in other economic areas. We are familiar with the great attention which Hungary pays to such problems. To what extent can the expansion of such activities adversely affect the social base of the new system and the proper application of the basic socialist principles in the future? In your statement you spoke of the policy pursued by the MSZMP in terms of income differentiation. What other factors and levers are being applied in your

country to promote the assertion of the ideals of social justice under conditions which allow a relatively extensive individual labor activity?

Z. Karkabi (editor in chief of AL-DARB, theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Israel Central Committee). Zionist propaganda in our country is writing a great deal about Hungary. Its main thesis is that the situation in that country is better, for it has realized the inefficiency of socialism and is gradually abandoning socialist economic management methods. Understandably, the purpose of this propaganda is to drive a wedge between Hungary and the other socialist countries and also to convince the working people in Israel that the socialist way of development has no future.

In order to oppose such hostile propaganda concepts with proper arguments and convincingly, and to tell the people the truth about socialist Hungary, it is quite important for us to be familiar in great detail and accurately with the meaning of the economic reforms in Hungary, their results and the experience gained in building socialism.

V. Benke. It is true that Western propaganda is paying increased attention to small-scale private enterprise in Hungary, although its share of the national economy is quite insignificant. We essentially concentrate on the large socialized enterprises, which are the firm foundations of the Hungarian economy, where the crucial problems of technical progress and upgrading the people's living standards are being solved. At the same time, we are engaged in an experiment the purpose of which, both in industry and in the service area, is to establish a certain division of labor between large socialist enterprises and the private sector, based above all on family labor.

We started this experiment a quarter of a century ago, in agriculture, and ever since then it has been based on combining large-scale production in state and cooperative enterprises with family farming of a garden plot, with a sensible division of labor and contract with the public farm.

Our experience proved to be highly efficient. At a time when the foundations of the present agrarian policy were being laid, in terms of agricultural labor productivity we were in the 50th or 60th place in the world; today we are fifth of sixth.

We have been able to combine the advantages of large-scale socialist farming with greater individual material incentive of the farmers. Most of the income of the rural working people comes from the public economic sector.

Starting with the 1980s, we have tried to apply the same principles in industry and services, above all through individual spare-time labor.

As to the scale of petty private enterprise: in Hungary the overall number of employed people is 5 million; 8 percent of them--about 400,000--work in petty private enterprises. Of these 140,000 are petty craftsmen, one-half of whom engage in small-scale production in addition to their main work at state enterprises or establishments. The country has 18,000 petty merchants who own small and essentially family-run stores. They account for about 8-9 percent of total trade in the country. Therefore, the output of the individual sector

is not decisive in any given area of activities. The petty producers only supplement through their work areas where, for a variety of reasons, it is unprofitable for the state to engage in production activities and where it has neither the forces nor the possibilities of meeting consumer demand.

With the help of our taxation policy we take steps to prevent the income of petty entrepreneurs from becoming excessively high. Naturally, in itself the element of petty enterprise leads to speculations and abuses. The main reason for such negative phenomena is the scarcity of industrial and consumer goods, which creates negative phenomena in the state sector as well. It is well known that wherever there are shortages there are also abuses. Excessively high income is excluded with a correct policy of taxation and control. Currently we are doing everything possible to prevent any violations of the socialist principles of social justice.

J. Rodriguez. Taking into consideration the importance of the changes which are currently taking place in the socialist countries, I follow quite closely the development of economic thinking in the USSR and the creative searches in the other socialist countries, including Hungary. Economists in the socialist countries discuss in their works new approaches to the building of socialism and analyze profoundly the economic problems of socialism, based on an innovative interpretation of the categories of Marxist political economy.

Under these circumstances, it is worth remembering the debates on the subject of socialist political economy of the 1920s, the extensive discussions of such problems by Soviet scientists in the 1950s and 1960s, and the current debates conducted by Soviet economists. They have been focused on basic problems of commodity output under socialism, the role of the law of value in economic development, the correlation between price and value and between the market and planning. I particularly value the contribution to socialist economic theory made by Academician V.S. Nemchinov and the Novosibirsk school of economics. These problems are important to the entire communist movement. They enable us to gain a more profound idea of the basic outlines of the type of system of social justice and elimination of exploitation for which we are fighting.

The 27th CPSU Congress made a tremendous contribution to the development of our theoretical concepts on the socioeconomic mechanism of socialist society. I would say that the core of the congress' decisions was the more profound formulation of most important problems, such as the correlation between centralism and democracy, self-government and the decisive role of the masses in making decisions on economic and social problems. We, communists from different countries, are hopefully expecting further developments of socialist political economic problems, resulting from the economic experiments conducted in the USSR.

I. Frolov. You, Comrade Rodriguez, have raised very important, I would say essential problems of contemporary real socialism. In as much as the speaker referred to the history of these debates which took place in their time in the Soviet Union and has drawn our attention to the radical problems formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress, I deem it necessary to join in the discussion and say a few words on these matters.

KOMMUNIST recently started a new section entitled "Discussions and Debates." It deals precisely with the problems discussed here by Comrade V. Benke and those touched upon by Comrade Rodriguez. For the past few months the journal has carried out a sharp and thorough discussion on problems of commodity-monetary relations under socialism, on the role of social factors and perfecting socialist justice in all areas of social relations for the sake of faster economic growth. In our current debates we are drawing a great deal of valuable facts from previous discussions. The discussion of such key theoretical problems is a response to a most urgent social need, that of making socialism more dynamic and efficient while strengthening its inherent justice in social relations.

As you know, M.S. Gorbachev, our party's Central Committee general secretary, has always emphasized that we have taken the irrevocable path of restructuring all aspects of life in Soviet society and that this is our long-term course which will require a profound theoretical elaboration and the practical solution of a number of difficult problems.

#### Speeches

Hong Thiong, editor in chief of TAP TI KONG SHAN ("Communist Journal"), political and theoretical journal of the Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee:

The resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress opened new horizons for our theoretical activities. The Soviet communists enriched the theory of Marxism-Leninism with outstanding theoretical summations of real socialism. In connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, all research will be raised to a higher level and the results of the revolutionary experience in the fraternal countries will be summed up.

In describing the situation in Vietnam, the speaker mentioned the basic trends in the creative activities of the CPV. The country's successes in building socialism confirm the industriousness and militant spirit of the Vietnamese people. At the same time, they are inseparable from the valuable aid and support provided by the fraternal socialist and other friendly countries and international organizations.

The achievements of the Vietnamese people in economic, social and cultural life are unquestionable. In recent years, however, some errors were made. They are, above all, those of the infant "left wing" disease and of voluntarism, which conflicts with the objective laws of social development. Manifestations of subjectivism, haste, and anticipation occurred in laying the material and technical foundations for socialism. A certain conservatism, sluggishness and unwillingness to change the existing situation were also manifested. The errors, particularly those in economic policy, were also related to shortcomings in ideological and theoretical work.

Starting with 1986, during preparations for its Sixth Congress, the CPV mounted a campaign of criticism and self-criticism in all party organizations, promoting the bold exposure of errors and their decisive correction. The party and the people are dedicating their efforts and energy to the successful



solution of two indivisible strategic problems: building socialism on Vietnamese soil and ensuring the firm protection of the gains of socialist Vietnam, while actively making a worthy contribution to the common struggle waged by all nations for peace, national independence and socialism.

Today we can already claim that socialism in Vietnam and in the other fraternal countries in Indochina has greatly outstripped capitalism in the ASEAN countries in the political, cultural and social areas and in relations among people. This, however, cannot be said about economics. Unquestionably, however, in the course of economic integration within CEMA and the implementation of the comprehensive program for cooperation and mutual aid, the socialist countries will clearly prove to the liberated countries that development on the path of socialism is more efficient than under capitalism.

Today, the speaker went on to say, mankind is threatened by doom by the militaristic circles of imperialism, headed by the United States. The Vietnamese people fully support the peaceful foreign policy of the USSR. They warmly welcome the peace initiatives formulated by M.S. Gorbachev concerning the Asian-Pacific Basin. The SRV is making its possible contribution to the struggle for peace, stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia. We are convinced that friendly relations and cooperation between Vietnam and China are a necessary factor in improving the situation in the area. Vietnam and China are neighboring countries. For centuries their peoples have helped each other. They have common aspirations, which are peace, freedom, independence and economic progress. The basic and permanent interests of the peoples of both countries are much stronger than present differences.

In conclusion, Comrade Hong Thiong said: We are still facing a great deal of difficulties. However, the party and the people have everything necessary to surmount them and to advance the cause of the revolution even more energetically.

R. Staigerwald, member of the Board of the German Communist Party, and editor in chief of the journal MARXISTISCHE BLETTTER ("Marxist Papers"):

The most important international duty of Marxists in our country is promoting a united party of the working class in the FRG, based on the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The crucial period in historical development we are currently experiencing makes on us, communists, stricter ideological and political requirements. The difficulty and complexity of the problems of the scientific and technical revolution and the crucial situation itself set to the ideologues the task of accurately assessing the present condition of the world and its changes.

The global situation has brought to life a variety of new ideological and political concepts on the development of society as a whole. Within the monopoly camp for example, a struggle is being waged between conservative and liberal-reformist forces. Within the social democratic movement as well arguments are taking place between different ideological and political trends. A similar differentiation may be found among the "greens" and members of alternative movements. Differences of opinion exist also among the communists. The result is that in the course of such confrontations

conceptual problems become increasingly important, for a class orientation is always conceptual in nature. Ethical problems must be solved, such as should we do all that can be done? How and under what circumstances should we act or not act? This also pertains to the way of life and culture.

The search for a platform by those who are not only not oriented toward Marxism but would even like to challenge it ideologically leads to the creation of utopias and anti-utopias. Finally, the forces which may be aspiring toward Marxism but are unable to surmount the ideological gap between their own concepts of the world and its present level of development try to develop their own Marxism which is opposed to Leninism, which alienates itself from Leninism and approaches revisionism.

The speaker proceeded to analyze in detail the features of the ideological and political struggle waged in the FRG and the tasks of Marxist criticism of right-wing conservative and social democratic concepts. In discussing the attitude of the communists toward the theoretical views of supporters of broad general democratic movements, he emphasized the need to take their accurate conclusions thoroughly into consideration. Today this too is one of the aspects of the ability of the communists to learn. Nevertheless, merely looking for confirmations of Marxist concepts through history is insufficient. This would be a retreat from today's problems, which is fraught with dogmatism. However, it would be equally wrong to conceive of the new phenomena in life while disregarding the basic concepts of Marxist-Leninist theory. Such disregard would be a deviation on the side of revisionism.

Nothing is more important today than the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. Peace is not everything but without peace there is nothing. All of our discussions and debates and our struggle must be waged on the basis of the need for the unconditional preservation of peace, involving in this struggle increasingly broader coalitions of the forces of reason. The Soviet peace initiatives are helping accurately to guide the contemporary antiwar movement. Not only we, communists, but many people who are by no means communists, are looking with great hope at the country of Lenin, whose foreign policy is consistent with the basic interests of the nations.

M. Banaschak, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and editor in chief of EINHEIT ("Unity"), the SED Central Committee journal for the theory and practice of scientific socialism:

The SED ascribes great importance to the international exchange of ideas and the fastest possible joint solution of problems in the areas of politics, economics, science, technology, theory and ideology. The results of the exchange of views which took place in November 1986 in Moscow among the heads of parties of CEMA member countries, increased even further the significance of collective creative efforts, including those in the field of theory. The difficulty and stress of the international situation raised more urgently than ever the need for strengthening cooperation among all forces brimming with goodwill and aspiring to eliminate tension and the threat of a global nuclear conflagration. The GDR deems it its international duty above all, together with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community, to ensure security and strengthen socialism in the heart of Europe.

The most important guideline in the foreign policy course charted at the 11th SED Congress, organically related to the struggle for peace, stipulates: "The main sector of our struggle is ensuring unity of economic and social policy." This has enhanced the creative forces of the people needed for dynamic economic growth. The problems which must be solved by the year 2000 indicate, above all, that we must fight for scientific and technical progress on a scale consistent with the new stage of the scientific and technical revolution.

The qualitative renovation of the material elements of production forces is paralleled by changes in the material foundations and place of man in the production process. This means that socialist production relations as well must be steadily developed and improved.

The resolutions passed at the high fora of communists from fraternal parties proved that the constructive force of Marxism-Leninism rests in its ability to find answers to even the most difficult problems raised by life. This makes even more necessary to bring to light the humanistic nature of Marxism-Leninism in the ideological struggle for the hearts and minds of the people. It requires an even more thorough interpretation of the dialectics of class interests of the working class and all mankind and of the entire importance of consistently preserving peace on earth.

We are proceeding from the fact that peace can be preserved only by waging a decisive struggle against aggressive militaristic circles, American imperialism above all. Peaceful coexistence will change nothing in the different social systems. It is aimed at excluding wars as a political factor and ensuring possibilities of normal, civilized and peaceful competition. Ideological contradictions remain. However, we must learn to live with the existence of such contradictions and solve them peacefully. The further strengthening of socialism remains the main prerequisite in the successful struggle for peace and social progress.

All related problems are in the center of attention of the political and theoretical activities of EINHEIT. In addition to seeking answers to arising questions, we are also trying to disseminate even more efficiently and to substantiate the achievements, values and advantages of socialism, specifically manifested in socialist humanism, and are characteristic features of the socialist way of life.

H. Lehtinen, editor in chief of KOMMUNISTI, journal of the Communist Party of Finland:

The most important problem to the communist parties in capitalist countries is how to wage the struggle for peace in accordance with changes in the structure of the working class. We must specifically prove that peace and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems are consistent with the interests of the working class and all social strata and groups.

The appeal for a new way of thinking in international relations triggered great interest in Finland. One of our projects today is to explain the nature of SDI and the threat it conceals. Closely related to this are also problems of disarmament and strengthening European cooperation and security.

Changes in the structure of the labor movement are also affecting the peace movement. Many communists in our country hold the view that the real working class consists of workers employed in the heavy industry, metallurgy and construction, while all others are merely their allies. This is bound to affect the activities of our party and the country's political development.

Changes in Finland's industrial and economic structure have led to radical changes in the structure of the working class. For example, the importance of a traditional sector, such as shipbuilding, is declining. The role of new sectors which require highly educated and trained manpower, is increasing. One-half of all working people today are women. The prospects in improving the forms of the struggle for peace are closely related to such changes.

The speaker, who went on to discuss problems and prospects of the foreign policy of neutral Finland, emphasized that the people, the Finnish communists above all, are not neutral on the question of war and peace. Finland is a highly developed capitalist country which, however, is threatened by becoming a new colony of the leading Western powers should its economy become militarized. Ensuring peace and further development of international cooperation are becoming the most vital problems in the struggle waged by the working class, which must be linked more closely to that for social progress and socialism.

The peaceful utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the development of production and the economy on the basis of equal cooperation give priority to expanding and intensifying democracy and pursuing a more equitable policy of capital investments.

The processes which are taking place in the socialist countries are of tremendous importance in this connection. For example, the people of Finland are following with interest the acceleration of socioeconomic changes in the USSR. The Soviet Union is our neighbor and extensive cooperation, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, has been established between the two countries. The possibility for Finland to develop with the socialist countries economic, technological, scientific and other relations enable us to provide a realistic alternative to the militaristic course favored by some circles in our country.

Under present-day circumstances, the task of the communist press is to analyze the characteristics of the various groups of the working class and find new ways of enhancing the struggle for peace and social progress. The statements heard at this meeting have strengthened our view that an open and comradely discussion among communist parties and their theoretical journals is quite useful and necessary.

I. Nerlund, member of the Executive Committee and Secretariat of the Denmark Communist Party Central Committee, responsible editor of TIDEN ("Time"), theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Denmark:

In these tense and crucial times for the entire world, ideological and theoretical work must play a leading part in the life of the party members.

The Marxists-Leninists consider that the main feature in the age of the scientific and technical revolution is the intensified contradiction between the level of development of production forces and production relations under capitalism, which still has significant reserves at its disposal.

A major aggravation of this contradiction has taken place of late and, as its consequence, in the economic, political and ideological aspects of the class struggle. It is understandable, therefore, why today as well the role of the working class remains determining. The need for socialist production relations, public ownership of the means of production and public management of production is becoming increasingly urgent. At the same time, however, the monopolies are making intensive efforts to adapt to the new global situation.

We must steadily clarify such problems, which is what we are doing in our journal. However, it is obvious to us as well that such problems are profoundly international in nature. That is why international cooperation and exchange of experience in such matters are necessary.

Today new conditions have developed in the struggle wages by the international workers movement. They offer extensive opportunities for action but also demand the solution of a number of problems. This is particularly noticeable today, when a new dynamic stage in social progress has begun in the socialist community, started by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Nor should we forget the fact that imperialism and the reactionary forces are seeking revenge, applying most refined and criminal methods. This raises for the international labor movement new and frequently quite difficult problems which can be solved only through international solidarity and interaction.

The most topical problem of our time is ensuring the future of mankind by preventing a nuclear war and implementing the ideals of universal peace in relations among countries. It is extremely necessary today for the forces of war not only to be halted but also defeated. The struggle for peace is comprehensive. Its link with social progress is clear. This struggle must be joined by all social strata. One of the most vital tasks is to oppose ideological preparations for war and to neutralize them. This requires a further contribution by the communists to the ideological struggle and the strengthening and enhancement of theoretical work. We must also promote the popularization of basic Marxist-Leninist ideas. This particularly applies to understanding the role of the revolutionary party. The importance which the communists must ascribe to the unification and cohesion of the masses and to a broad policy of alliances should not lead to the weakening of ideological work. On the contrary, the current circumstances and the successes achieved by real socialism make even more urgent the broadening and strengthening of socialist ideology. One of the main sources of its strength is its international nature. However, we can hardly claim that we have made full use of the entire potential which this comprises.

Questions. Discussion

J. Laborde. Some speakers here touched upon the topical subject of changes in the structure of the working class. I consider this a very important subject

for the communist parties in capitalist countries. We are noticing important changes in the social aspects of the working class. It was already mentioned here that the working class is continuing to grow although bourgeois propaganda in our country and some trade union leaders claim that the share of the working class is declining. This thesis is based on a substitution of concepts for specific and quite clear purposes. The concept of working class is being unjustifiably narrowed. Naturally, its structure is changing quite rapidly. For example, the working class in the service industry is expanding. The number of temporary workers in capitalist enterprises, which find it profitable to use such labor, many of whose rights have been substantially curtailed, has increased. Furthermore, the so-called underground economy in which the working person is deprived of all social rights is also expanding. In Argentina this economy plays quite an important role.

On the other hand, a great variety of methods are used in the course of the antilabor offensive mounted by capitalism, with a view to pitting some detachments of the working class against other. It is no accident that the bourgeois ideologues are unwilling to notice the proletarianization of so-called middle classes and intellectuals, although this phenomenon has become widespread in a number of countries. In analyzing the concept of the working class we must not ignore high chronic unemployment.

That is why, as was proved here by some comrades, the communist parties must have an even clearer idea of what is taking place within the working class which is called upon to play a leading role in the revolutionary process.

J. Rodriguez. I fully agree with Comrade Laborde. In our country, for example, 86 percent of all technical specialists are hired labor. Like the classical proletariat, they sell their manpower and have their own militant trade unions, sectorial or intersectorial, and are also active in the unified trade union. We actually have a new socioclass structure. This opens to us, communists, new horizons and formulates broad tasks in the development of a strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle.

R. Staigerwald. Indeed, there is absence of clarity in the communist movement concerning the social boundaries of the working class. On the one hand, there is a viewpoint according to which the working class includes only those whom we describe as "blue collar workers." Clearly, this is a rather narrow concept. However, there is another, excessively wide viewpoint, according to which all hired labor is part of the working class concept. This applies to physicians and nurses who are classified as members of the working class if they hire themselves out. As to the structure of the working class, here as well we are noticing new process to which we, Marxists, must pay closest possible attention.

Production sectors based on modern technology are steadily developing in the FRG as in many other developed capitalist countries. However, they involve just as much industrial output and, despite their increased skills, those employed in such jobs remain members of the proletariat in terms of their class status. This is first. Second, a huge wave of increasing the efficiency of office work has been initiated affecting above all the area of services. This means that the growth of this stratum of working people will

hardly end and may even increase. We must take this into consideration as well. Third, quite important social processes, as mentioned by Comrade Laborde from Argentina, are taking place. A two-third society has developed in our country, i.e., two-thirds of the people have jobs and one-third are unemployed. This creates new problems in trade union activities, problems to which we must pay attention.

H. Sakamoto (member of the delegation of (DZENY), theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Japan Central Committee, and member of the Communist Party of Japan Central Committee). I would like to discuss a question which was mentioned in yesterday's debate. The representative of South Africa said that under certain conditions any national liberation movement has the right to seek outside help. Comrade Matsumoto, our journal's editor in chief, already said in his statement that the Communist Party of Japan considers as one of the important international tasks of party activities support of the struggle for the self-determination of nations, relating this problem to the total banning and elimination of nuclear weapons.

American imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, in Nicaragua in particular, is suppressing the political, economic and military rights of the peoples for national self-determination. We raise the question of solidarity with and support of the people of Nicaragua. We support the struggle waged against apartheid in South Africa and the right of Arab peoples to self-determination. We are supporting this struggle on the basis of the principle of the right of nations to self-determination. We believe that this is one of the main trends in the struggle for peace. No contradiction whatsoever may be found here. We are convinced that no outside force should be allowed, under any pretext, to interfere with the implementation of the sovereign right of nations to self-determination. It is particularly this feature that I would like to emphasize.

A. Larsen (editor in chief of COMMUNIST VIEWPOINT, journal of the Canadian Communist Party). Taking as an example changes in the structure of the Canadian working class, let me emphasize that the working class is steadily growing, in the broad meaning of the term. It includes both the industrial proletariat and other detachments. New working class strata are appearing. As they join the working class, they bring with them their own class prejudices. As a rule, for example, their level of trade union awareness is lower. Today no more than 40 percent of Canadian workers are members of trade unions. It is true that the trade union movement is continuing to expand. It is expanding as a result of the joining of workers in the service industry. This changes the structure of the trade union movement and its nature, objectives and tasks. The share of women is increasing in the trade unions and the women's movement in the country has a major antiwar potential.

M. Banaschak. As our discussion has indicated, it has indeed become necessary precisely to define the concept of the contemporary working class, for a variety of interpretations of this problem still exist. In my view, this is of great importance in formulating the strategy and tactics of the communist parties. Unfortunately, because of its broad agenda we cannot specifically elaborate this concept at the present meeting. This may be yet another incentive for us to hold such conferences with the same, smaller or broader

participation and, perhaps, with a more narrow topic which would enable us to study the problem in depth and to discuss more thoroughly questions which arise in the course of our debates.

Here is another remark on a subject already discussed by Comrade R. Staigerwald. Following several meetings and seminars with social democratic leaders, I have developed the impression that we shall not receive uniform answers to questions dealing with the past, present and future, particularly in terms of choosing our future ways, in the discussions we are holding with representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. They do not like real socialism while we totally disagree with their concepts of "democratic" socialism and their reformist theories. Despite all of this, however long and in detail we may be discussing problems of the future and of the paths which will lead mankind into the future, and regardless of our answers, no one will take us closer to that future unless we can secure peace. I believe that this precisely is the main problem. We must wage the ideological struggle but, at the same time, emphasize that peace must be ensured and protected and that priority must be given to setting up a broad front must be set up for its preservation and for counteracting aggressive U.S. policy.

N. Iribadzhakov. I have a high regard for Comrade Staigerwald as a thoughtful theoretician and creative Marxist, for which reason I would like to discuss problems of the dialectics of the policy and theory of science, which he raised in discussing the primacy of policy. Unquestionably, in a class-oriented society politics has always played a prime role. As a rule, it has contributed to the creation of favorable conditions for the enhancement of science, starting with most ancient civilizations. Unfortunately, however, there have also been periods in the history of mankind in which politics simply ignored science and thus caused substantial harm not only to science but to itself as well.

Therefore, in order for policy to play its prime role, it must be scientific and steadily contribute to the development of science. Such is, in my view, the interaction between policy and theory.

The second question is the following: A great deal was said here about our own countries. We discussed common problems and shared thoughts on national autonomy, independence and so on. Naturally, no one can oppose such an approach. In addition to such problems, however, there also are common interests in our struggle for socialism and communism and the question of our internationalism. Give it any name you like: socialist internationalism, proletarian internationalism or international solidarity of the communist movement. Let me emphasize that this problem of international unity, communist above all, and unity among all progressive and democratic forces, is one of the most vital problems which we, as representatives of the theoretical journals of our parties, must develop. In our time the class struggle is not the only one of an international nature. Let us look at truth in the eyes: more than ever before the opponent of the working class, represented by the bourgeoisie, is international. Essentially, the working class is the type of class to which internationalism in thinking and acting is organically inherent. However, it is not this alone that should make us turn to this question. In our time many new and vitally important problems have appeared



which are essentially international! This applies to the struggle for peace and disarmament and to ecological problems. In order to solve these problems the joint and cohesive actions of all left-wing and progressive forces, above all those of the communists the world over, are necessary.

A. Vorku. Many topical problems were raised in the course of the presentations and debates. They included changes in the structure of the working class, the right of nations to self-determination, the role of policy in social development, its dialectical ties with economics and theory, the role which our journals could play in mobilizing the masses in the struggle for peace, problems of the scientific and technical revolution and humanism, and many others.

I would like to go back to the question of the right of nations to self-determination, which was so energetically discussed at our meeting. You know that imperialism is trying to interfere in the affairs of our country by supporting feudal separatists and hiding behind demagogical demands for self-determination. To the communists a general democratic right of nations to self-determination does not exist by itself. It is organically related to the principle of proletarian internationalism and does not mean in the least adopting the position of an outside observer who morally sympathizes with a nation fighting for its freedom and nothing more. Furthermore, we must recall Lenin's instructions to the effect that the right of nations to self-determination should contribute to the unification of revolutionary peoples and to their understanding that not separation but unification serves their interests and the cause of social progress. This right demands a specific historical rather than abstract approach unrelated to time.

It is within this context that we are currently supporting the struggle waged by our South African comrades. When we say that we are systematically pursuing a policy of nonintervention in peaceful coexistence in our area and internationally, we have in mind our attitude toward countries in which a different--capitalist--social system exists. As to our relations with countries with a socialist orientation, liberation movements and socialist countries, as everyone knows we uphold the principle of proletarian internationalism and fully support their just struggle.

B. Cohen (editor in chief of POLITICAL AFFAIRS, theoretical journal of the U.S. Communist Party). I would like to support the suggestion voiced by other comrades to the effect that it would be useful to organize a special meeting at which we could discuss exclusively problems of structural changes within the working class and the methods of its international exploitation by multinational corporations, and reach a joint theoretical understanding on this matter. Unfortunately, not only the trade unions but also the communists are still significantly lagging behind multinational capital in strengthening our cooperation on the international level and in our approach to such new phenomena and problems.

#### Speeches

E. Susi, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Organizations of the Communist Party of Finland (United) and the journal TEORIA YA

POLITIIKKA ("Theory and Politics") of the Central Committee of the Organizations of the Communist Party of Finland (United):

In my view, under contemporary conditions the communist press faces particularly important and responsible tasks of which I would like to speak in the light of the experience of the newspaper TIEDONANTAYA, and its theoretical monthly, the largest in the country, which I represent at this meeting.

First, let us clarify the prime significance of the new style of political thinking in the international arena. Such new approaches were clearly formulated, mainly at the 27th CPSU Congress and in M.S. Gorbachev's speeches. Thanks to the bold steps taken by the Soviet Union in favor of peace, an increasing number of people are realizing the captivating opportunities provided by Reykjavik, although no specific results were achieved. The people realize that the world is no longer what it was before Reykjavik.

Second, we must help the communists themselves to master the new way of thinking on matters of war and peace. At the same time, we must do everything necessary so that they may accurately understand, based on class positions, the idea that the interests of social development supersede the specific interests of the proletariat as a class, for the interests of the working class in themselves, by virtue of its social nature, contain a universal component, something which cannot be said of those of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Third, the communist press must indicate the source of threat of war--imperialism. We in Finland are paying today particular attention to exposing the American "Star Wars" program which is of a clearly aggressive nature. At the same time, we are exposing the entire danger of the destructive nature of the U.S. decision to abandon Salt-2.

Fourth, while we identify the enemy we must also explain who is the main guarantor of peace. It is the Soviet Union and real socialism. The socialist social system is peaceful. The process of extensive restructuring and acceleration of socioeconomic development, currently taking place in the USSR, provides the communist press with new opportunities to prove to the readers that the Soviet people are engaged in the implementation of tremendous constructive tasks, for which they need peace. A truthful description of the life and achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the defense of real socialism against malicious attacks are considered by the Finnish communists an important component of the struggle for peace.

Fifth, we deem it our important task to promote the struggle for social progress and against imperialism, waged by communists and revolutionary democrats and by peoples still oppressed by imperialism or already liberated, as well as the activities of other progressive forces. The intensification of anti-imperialist solidarity offers the possibility of involving new forces and movements in the struggle for peace. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism we support Nicaragua and the building of a new life in Poland, Vietnam and Afghanistan, which were targets of imperialist intrigues.

Sixth, one of the most topical tasks in our view is to describe the struggle waged by the masses against war and to spread the experience acquired in the struggle for peace in different countries and different parts of our own country.

The Finnish communist press considers as its important task the publication of articles in defense and development of the foreign policy line pursued by our country and friendly relations with the Soviet Union. Such relations are a live and impressive example of peaceful coexistence of great international importance. However, we must not forget that efforts to hinder Soviet-Finnish cooperation are being made both by international imperialism and right-wing forces within Finland itself.

E. Susi concluded by saying that the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution will be celebrated in 1987 and so will the anniversary of granting independence to Finland. The entire communist press in the country will extensively cover the forthcoming anniversaries. (To be continued)

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## NEW ASPECTS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 30-40

[Article by Leonid Emmanuilovich Kunelskiy, member of the collegium of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The CPSU program stipulates that with a view to increasing the efficiency of material labor incentive "We must steadily improve the wage system, so that it may be fully consistent with the principle of pay based on the quantity and quality of labor, take into consideration its conditions and results and stimulate improvements in worker skills, labor productivity, quality and efficient use and conservation of all types of resources."

No less than two-thirds of the overall increase in income this 5-year plan will be based on pay according to labor. The absolute amounts of the average monthly wage of workers and employees will be increased from 190 rubles in 1985 to nearly 220 rubles, as planned for 1990.

In order for wages and the entire system of material incentives for labor to successfully influence production and consumption under the conditions of a sharp and comprehensive conversion to intensive work methods, major socioeconomic problems must be solved in the area of wages, and the principles of socialist social justice must be asserted in practical terms.

What are the new features here and what new steps have been taken after the 27th CPSU Congress? The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU September 1986 decree "On Improving the Organization of Wages and Introducing New Wage Rates and Salaries of Workers in Production Sectors in the National Economy" is of essential importance in this case. The purpose of this article is to indicate its importance and, from a broader viewpoint, the general trends in the restructuring of the entire system of organization of wages under contemporary conditions.

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Let us begin with a few introductory remarks. The restructuring of wages under contemporary conditions is determined by the need drastically to upgrade their stimulating role and to strengthen their direct dependence on end labor results. To this effect improving the organization of wages must and will be

inseparably linked to the entire set of steps taken to apply the new economic management methods, total cost accounting and a conversion to a system of self-financing and self-support. Their close interaction is determined by a number of reasons.

First, one of the most complex problems in the use of the new economic management methods is applying the principles directly at intraproduction subdivisions in brigades and with individual workers. Studies have indicated that in many enterprises, even in sectors which were the first to apply such methods as early as 1984 (heavy and transport machine building, electrical engineering industry, etc.), by no means do all workers, including managers, have a clear idea of the nature of the mechanism and the functioning of such steps. Naturally, it is important to intensify explanatory work. Above all, however, collectives and individual working people must be provided with economic conditions which would comprehensively motivate them to seek and apply internal production reserves for efficient and highly productive labor. Considerable opportunities arise in this respect with the application of the self-financing and self-support system. Under the conditions of intensified cost accounting, in which the profit earned by the collective becomes the main source of production, technical and social development, the link between labor accomplishments by the individual worker and the entire collective and the possibility of comprehensively meeting the needs of the working people becomes more tangible. However, this can and must be based on perfecting the organization and increasing wages through and within the limit of the funds they earn themselves. This strengthens in the worker's mind the connection between improved labor indicators and higher income from labor.

Second, the most favorable prerequisite for restructuring wages within the extent of the funds earned by the labor collectives appear on the basis of the systematic development and intensification of internal cost accounting. This precisely is what creates an interest in high end results in the work of associations, enterprises and organizations. It would be difficult in this respect to overestimate the use of the most efficient forms of labor organization and incentive, such as cost accounting in brigades and contracting, in a variety of production subdivisions or entire enterprises.

Imperfections in planning and accounting have a restraining influence on the application of such progressive forms of labor organization. The results of studies conducted at enterprises in various industrial sectors have indicated that assignments on the volume of output are set for no more than two-thirds of brigades; for the growth of labor productivity or reducing labor-intensiveness, for no more than one-half; and assignments and norms governing outlays of material resources are issued to no more than 20 percent of brigades. Under such circumstances how is brigade cost accounting possible?

Nevertheless, the experience of many enterprises in absolutely all sectors proves not only the possibility but also the great efficiency of such work. The application of brigade cost accounting leads to increased labor productivity by 10-15 percent or more; it ensures the systematic lowering of production material- and power-intensiveness. Obviously, better conditions for such activities are created by converting to the new economic management methods and, particularly, applying the self-financing system.

On the other hand, the steps taken to improve wages provide the greatest possible opportunity for displaying enterprise and ministry initiative. It has been determined, above all, that efficient methods of collective labor organization, such as brigade cost accounting and contracts should, by the end of the 12th 5-year period, become the main form of labor organization in industry and other production areas. Furthermore, whereas previously special permission was required to use the collective contract method in sections and other larger units, today the enterprises themselves, with the active participation of labor collectives, have been granted the right to use contracting economic management principles also in shops, livestock farms, construction organizations, etc. Furthermore, after adequate preparations, ministries and departments apply use contract methods to entire associations, enterprises and organizations.

While applying progressive collective forms of labor organization, we must not ignore the efficient organization of individual work places. This implies encouraging a combination of skills, broadening servicing areas and accomplishing more with fewer workers, i.e., essentially giving the Shchekino method a new boost. To this effect restrictions in this area are being lifted. Thus, the enterprises themselves will be able to apply such progressive forms of labor organization if deemed necessary, without any centralized stipulations of professions and skills or restrictions on wage supplements for more intensive labor. The only mandatory stipulation is that said wage supplements must come from savings from the wages of released workers (based on wage rates and salaries). They must be based on the stipulation that the workers earning such supplements are successfully performing their main and related jobs.

Third, under the conditions of the new economic management system, the necessary prerequisites are provided enabling enterprises and labor collectives themselves to earn funds used in increasing their wages. At the same time, they are granted extensive opportunities to make the most efficient and rational use of funds left at their disposal, in such a way as to stimulate the working people in achieving higher labor results.

Naturally, the economic management system introduced in 1987, to which all industry and many other sectors will convert, will continue to develop also in terms of wages and labor material incentives. Thus, in converting to the new economic management methods, the wage and economic incentive funds will be based on the incremental principle, i.e., starting with a basic amount with subsequent increases related to improvements in basic production activity indicators. In the introduction of the self-financing system which will be applied as of 1987 at enterprises in the instrument manufacturing, automobile, petrochemical machine building, petroleum refining and petrochemical industries, the maritime fleet and 36 large associations and enterprises in other production sectors, a number of basic changes will be made in the collection of funds which will be left at the disposal of the enterprises. The economic incentive funds, including the material incentive fund, will now be collected not on the basis of the incremental principle but of the sum total of standards based directly on earned profits. Obviously, the further development of the self-financing system could be achieved also by directly linking the enterprise wage fund to income from sales. Unquestionably, this

would increase their interest and responsibility in further increasing the production of high quality goods meeting the highest world standards.

In all cases, the use as of this year in production sectors of a standardized method for forming the wage fund will guarantee enterprises wage funds based on production accomplishments. According to the law, the wage fund will be increased by a certain amount for each percentile in the growth of the volume of output. Consequently, these funds will be directly related not to the number of workers but to the results of their collective work. This also strengthens the confidence of the collectives that saved wage funds as a result of their more efficient work will be left entirely at their disposal. Without the creation of such prerequisites it would be extremely difficult and, in most cases simply impossible, to apply the new wage rules within the limits of the funds earned by enterprises and organizations.

Fourth, the efficiency of the new economic management mechanism is directly predetermined by the systematic application of a strong social policy based on the firm implementation of the principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work." From this viewpoint, within the shortest possible time many of the worst shortcomings in the organization of wages and the overall material incentive system could be corrected. This applies to the significant equalization of the wages of skilled and unskilled labor of workers and specialists, obviously unjustified under the conditions of scientific and technical progress. This is one of the major reasons for the decline in the prestige of engineering work, which is entirely inadmissible at a time when the task has been set of comprehensively converting to the production of commodities of the highest world standards and reaching in the future the highest labor productivity in the world.

The role of rates as means of state wage control has declined; in many cases their share does not exceed 50 percent of total worker earnings. Meanwhile, bonuses, supplements and additional payments, the purpose of which is to increase interest in end labor results, frequently simply become a means of raising wages to a specific level. To this effect clearly lowered labor outlay standards are being applied, inconsistent with contemporary equipment, and technological and organizational requirements. Many legal documents in the area of wages, which have been effective for more than 10 to 15 years, have become obsolete and are hindering the initiative of enterprises.

In the final account, various unearned payments are made to the workers, and salary equalization, inadmissible under socialist conditions, has become widespread. Essentially, this means that the worker's wage or its average level at enterprises as a whole is inconsistent with labor contributions. As a rule, in this case enterprises which have reached a high level of labor productivity and whose workers are making a greater contribution to production development find themselves in a worse situation, for it is at their expense that wages in lagging enterprises and paid to careless workers are undeservedly raised. This situation conflicts with socialist distribution principles. It is even less tolerable under the conditions of production intensification and conversion to new economic management methods.

In order to enhance the role of material labor incentives wages must reflect the actual labor contribution of the entire collective and the individual workers. In no case should higher wages be paid to lagging workers at the expense of frontrankers. This undermines the very foundation of material incentive and prevents conversion to true cost accounting. Furthermore, it is assumed that for a while, until an overall improvement in work standards has been achieved and the labor indicators of average and lagging workers have been raised to that of production frontrankers, increasing the stimulating role of wages will be related to a growing wage differentiation. From this viewpoint we can say most clearly that during a period of intensification we should not fear an increase in wages and high earnings paid to collectives or individual workers. All that matters is that in all cases wages are truly supported with respective labor contributions. This stipulation will be applied also to higher labor accomplishments and higher level of development of overall public production. The elimination of equalization also means comprehensively increasing the responsibilities of the workers, including laggards, for their production activity indicators. Responsibility through the ruble is a very efficient means of promoting improvements in labor production indicators.

2

In accordance with the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the September 1986 CPSU Central Committee USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Improving the Organization of Wages and the Introduction of New Wage Rates and Salaries of Workers in Production Sectors in the National Economy," new wage rules will be set this 5-year period. This is a most important feature in the social program of the 12th 5-year period, and a very important one in solving key problems in the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

These steps apply to the most important sectors which determine the development of the entire national economy: industry, construction, agriculture (sovkhozes and other agricultural state enterprises), transportation and communications. Together, they account for nearly two-thirds of the total number of all workers and employees in the country's national economy. Particularly important is the fact that wage rates and salaries will be increased for all workers without exception employed in production sectors. In these sectors no wage or salary will be under 80 rubles monthly. At the same time, wages of directors, general directors and other senior personnel of associations, enterprises and organizations in the production area, which had remained unchanged for several 5-year periods, will be increased as well.

In order to enhance the stimulating role of wages all basic elements within the wage system will be improved. This applies to the introduction of new rates and salaries, enhancing the efficiency of various types of supplements and additional payments and making essentially important changes in the content and forms of bonuses, as well as upgrading the quality of applied wage regulations and standards. The entire organization of the wage system is being improved in such a way as to strengthen the link between wage and labor results and increase the influence of wages on attaining higher indicators.



This is also the purpose of the new procedure for setting wage rates and salaries and harnessing internal production opportunities for efficient work.

The reorganization of the wage system is not taking place from scratch. The changes which are being made bring with themselves the extensive and comprehensive progressive experience acquired at enterprises and organizations in economic production sectors. The fact that the various progressive initiatives, which have yielded major results in their practical utilization will now become closely interrelated and applied comprehensively, is of the greatest possible importance. This is a question, for example, of the extensive dissemination of new methods of labor organization and incentive used in a number of railroads. The June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum defined such methods as an initiative of major governmental importance. The wage organization system which is being introduced also takes into consideration the practical experience of a number of large machine building associations and enterprises in Leningrad in intensifying material incentive of designers, technologists and other specialists for the fastest possible development and application of the latest models of equipment and progressive technology. Also taken into consideration is the experience of the AvtoVAZ Association in creating an efficient labor organization and incentive system, aimed at substantially upgrading work efficiency and reaching one of the highest sectorial levels of output per worker.

The steps taken to reorganize the wage system encompass the main ways of development and enhancement of public production efficiency. Thus, in order to accelerate scientific and technical progress, convert to intensive economic management methods and improve production quality, encouraging skilled labor and strengthening the interconnection among all elements of wages and specific achievements of workers and labor collectives are particularly important. At the same time, we must comprehensively eliminate the so-called derived wages, strictly assess individual end labor results and see to it that they are fully reflected in the wages.

The possibilities of associations and enterprises of stimulating workers who are making the greatest contribution to production accomplishments and to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress will be expanded significantly. This equally applies to workers, managers, specialists and employees. For example, in machine building there will be three groups of rates for workers, depending on the difficulty and responsibility of their jobs. Furthermore, highly skilled workers, such as instrument makers, machine-tool operators, tuners, repair workers and electricians servicing, tuning and repairing particularly complex and unique equipment, flexible automated systems, etc., will be assigned two additional grades (an 8- instead of a 6-grade system). In ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy different rates will be set for workers operating high-efficiency units; in agriculture they will be set for mechanizers operating efficient power-saturated equipment; in automotive transportation, this will be applied to drivers of heavy-duty trucks, etc. The most skilled workers in all production sectors will have the opportunity of earning higher salaries instead of having assigned wage rates.

A real opportunity will be provided for earning a higher salary based on labor accomplishments, without having to take administrative jobs in the case of

specialists (engineers, economists and others) and managerial personnel. To this effect additional positions will be opened. For example, instead of having two positions--engineer and senior engineer--there will be four: engineer, second category engineer, first category engineer, and head engineer. There will be five positions for designers, technologists, electronic workers and programmers. Differences between minimal and maximal wages for beginners and most skilled specialists will reach up to 100 rubles and in the case of designers, technologists, electronic workers and other personnel performing particularly difficult and responsible operations, 120 rubles. The "gap" in wages for engineers, economists, socialists, and so on, will be widened as well.

As to managers, as we know, their salary level depends on the group assigned to the association, enterprise and organization, and their structural units, shops and sections. The new conditions substantially change classification procedures. The newly adopted indicators will encourage the enterprises to upgrade the technical parameter and quality of output, produce goods meeting the highest world standards, achieve higher labor productivity and other quality features. Indicators related to personnel size will be excluded entirely. Consequently, managers will be most directly interested in achieving higher labor results with fewer personnel.

At the same time, greater responsibility has been assigned to both workers and specialists and managers for their activities. For example, in cases of gross violations of technological discipline and worsened quality of output, rates, grades and categories of workers may be lowered for up to 3 months. Their subsequent resumption will require proof of their qualification standards. Managers of production divisions and services, specialists and employees will be subject to certification no less than once every 3 years. Based on certification results decisions will be made on raising or reducing their salaries, awarding, reducing or eliminating wage supplements and even relieving them from their positions in cases of proven inconsistency between their ability and their production obligations.

If enterprises systematically fail to implement their basic planned assignments or produce substandard goods, ministries or department managers could temporarily lower the salaries of directors and other leading personnel of associations, enterprises and organizations.

In order to ensure a more accurate and comprehensive evaluation of the labor contribution of the workers, in addition to wage rates and salaries all other main components of wages will be used, such as wage supplements salary additions, bonuses and improved labor norms. In all sectors labor conditions will be assessed on the basis of the use of corresponding wage supplements (it is only in the coal, metallurgical and chemical industries that, as in the past, labor conditions will be taken into consideration in wage rates and salaries). The enterprises are given the right objectively to determine themselves the specific amounts of supplements, based on the degree of difficulty and harmfulness of labor conditions at specific jobs, based on certification results. In sectors such as machine building and light industry, in which conveyer belts and assembly lines are extensively used,

wage supplements may be paid for labor intensiveness, differentiated in accordance with the stress and time spent in active work at each job.

In order to ensure a more accurate evaluation of the level of skill of workers in all production sectors, supplements for professional skill will be introduced. Such supplements, which could be as high as 24 percent of wage rates, depending on the worker's grade, will be applied only in the case of workers who are steadily producing high quality goods, mastering new skills and performing related functions. During months in which cases of defective goods or worsened quality have been noted, no such supplements will have to be paid; should production indicators worsen systematically, they will be entirely withheld.

The more extensive use of supplements based on high labor accomplishments or performing particularly important work in their implementation will be of essential importance. In the past, such supplements could be paid only to designers and technologists, foremen and other line workers. Based on their effectiveness they now will apply to all managers of subdivisions, specialists and employees. First of all, such supplements make it possible to provide a more objective assessment of the labor efforts of specific workers and to motivate specialists to perform most complex and important operations; secondly, workers who make the greatest contribution to work results will be paid higher wages (for example, the salary of a most skilled designer, taking into consideration supplements for particularly important projects, will be on a level of that of a director of a large enterprise); finally, supplements will be an element of the salaries of specialists and employees enabling them systematically to increase their earnings similar to the increased earnings of piece-rate workers in fulfilling and overfulfilling stipulated norms.

The substantiated assessment of the labor contribution of all personnel without exception may be ensured only on the basis of quality labor norming: setting for workers, specialists and all personnel categories progressive standards and norms of labor outlays. It is sometimes believed that the higher the level of norm overfulfillment the worse labor norming has been organized. This view is not always substantiated, for what matters here is not the level at which norms are fulfilled but their quality and technical substantiation. If despite stressed norms workers are able to overfulfill them, this indicates increased labor productivity and specific accomplishments. Meanwhile, if lowered and weakened norms are used, on the one hand this does not ensure a proper assessment of the worker's labor contribution and, on the other, it leads to unjustifiably high wages. In raising wages and salaries no centralized norm revision assignments will be required. This makes it even more important for the enterprises and labor collectives themselves to show maximal activeness and initiative in exercising the broadest possible opportunities which have been granted to them for changing norms inconsistent with contemporary requirements. They must comprehensively encourage the workers to engage in more efficient and highly productive work. Furthermore, even after salaries and wages have been increased, suitable prerequisites for further improving the quality of standards will be provided.

Therefore, the new wage system will allow the use of higher rates (up to 20 percent) for piece-rate payments or an increase (of up to 10 percent) of wage rates in the case of hourly wages if the work is based on progressive and technically substantiated standards.

Major changes will be made in the bonus system. Essentially, they will consist of encouraging workers who are successfully implementing their assignments in the priority areas of economic development. It is a question of concentrating bonuses paid to all personnel categories on work indicators, such as the increased volume of output based on stipulated variety and in accordance with contractual obligations, improving labor productivity, reducing production costs, conserving material and fuel and energy resources and improving the quality of output and the work. In order to implement these objectives, the enterprises themselves will be granted the right to set indicators and conditions for and size of bonuses. Furthermore, they will be granted significantly greater opportunities for assessing end labor results and determining the specific labor contribution of the workers with the help of widespread collective incentive methods. As a rule, bonuses will be awarded to collectives of brigades and structural subdivisions, including shops and plant administration departments. Within the limits of such funds, no ceilings will be imposed on the maximal amounts which may be paid to individual workers. No bonuses will be paid in cases of poor quality, and disciplinary and contractual violations, etc.

Let us particularly note the streamlining of bonuses awarded leading personnel of associations, enterprises and organizations. Most of the bonuses they will receive will now be linked to basic work production indicators. Their attention will be concentrated on the implementation of assignments which actually determine production activities of enterprises and their subdivisions. In industry the main emphasis will be on increasing the interest and responsibility of managing personnel in fulfilling delivery contracts. If such contracts are not 100 percent fulfilled not only will no bonuses be paid to managerial personnel for the respective work indicators but also their bonuses earned for other basic indicators, such as growth of labor productivity and reduced production cost (the latter will be set aside and paid after shortfalls have been compensated before the end of the current year) may be reduced by 50 percent.

The new conditions governing wages will be based on, and not exceed the limits of, allocated enterprise wage funds. In this case the accumulation of resources and funds needed for paying higher salaries and wages will be particularly important. The labor collectives in the production sectors of the economy must earn the necessary funds themselves. Consequently, in this case raising wages will depend on the initiative, efficiency and real accomplishments of associations, enterprises, organizations and labor collectives. As is the case with any major project, the increase and improvement of wages, which will affect the profound interests of millions of working people and the members of their families, must be formulated most carefully. Otherwise any thoughtless implementation of steps in the wage area will not only not be beneficial but would yield the opposite results and contribute to the spreading of equalization. For example, we know of cases at the Minpribor and some other sectors in which, as the new wage conditions were

introduced for the personnel of scientific research establishments and design and engineering-technological organizations, the objectives were not met. A formalistic approach to this most important project led to an insignificant release of personnel (in frequent cases the closing down of jobs already vacant) and to the distribution of thus saved funds essentially on an equal basis among all personnel, increasing their wages by 3, 5 or 10 rubles monthly. However, if the efforts are truly concentrated on identifying and using internal production reserves the results are obvious: scientific and technical progress is accelerated, quality work indicators improve and the wages of the most efficient scientists, designers and technologists increase.

Very efficient work in the introduction of the new wage conditions based on enterprise funds was done by the Belorussian railroad, where approximately 13,000 of the 100,000 workers were released. In the first half of 1986 labor productivity on the railroad increased by more than 20 percent and average wages were raised substantially, by 15 percent. This experience unquestionably deserves to be most extensively used in the implementation of steps to increase salaries and wages. How was the work organized and carried out? Above all, thorough estimates were made of the funds needed for raising wages and salaries. Organizational and technical steps were formulated aimed at ensuring the necessary savings for this purpose. These measures were formulated at the base, starting with enterprises on the line, after which they were summed up on the scale of the entire railroad. The labor collectives themselves were extensively involved in their formulation and subsequent implementation.

The steps which were taken covered a variety of areas. They included efforts to upgrade technical production standards, including installing a variety of automated devices along the tracks, eliminating manual labor, and improving repairs of tracks and vehicles. The use of progressive transportation technologies was increased significantly, such as the introduction of heavy duty and fast long passenger trains. Extensive use was made of the combination of skills and jobs, including using a single locomotive engineer without an assistant at maneuvering diesel locomotives and at less active tracks, where traffic safety devices were installed. Brigades were consolidated and cost accounting was systematically applied in their activities. A significant number of subdivisions and services were expanded, combined or reorganized. Computers were concentrated within a roadway computer center, etc. These steps led to the release of large numbers of people and an above-plan volume of transportation services.

At the same time, extensive work was done to restructure the organization of wages and to improve labor norming standards. Worker grades and positions of specialists and employees were related to skills and extent and difficulty of jobs in terms of the size of salaries and wages. The rating indicators of line enterprises and organizations and their structural subdivisions were revised and made stricter. The largely obsolete norms of output of piece-rate workers were substantially increased and the normed labor outlays of hourly workers, specialists and employees were lowered. The links between bonuses and basic production indicators were strengthened, including the volume of transportation and work efficiency.

The duplication of this experience at 10 other railroads whose personnel exceeded one million people enabled the Ministry of Railroads to increase labor productivity by 8.2 percent within a period of 9 months in 1986. This is consistent with the overall increase planned for the 11th 5-year period (8.3 percent) and accounts for nearly three-quarters of the assignments of the current 12th 5-year period (12 percent).

The experience of the Belorussian and the other railroads confirms the urgent need for thorough and comprehensive preparations. It is important for every worker to know exactly how and on the basis of what steps additional increases in labor productivity, above-plan output and release of some personnel can be achieved and the areas in which wages and labor norming will be reorganized. Practical experience indicates, however, that all the necessary steps must be taken also for the active involvement of all workers without exception in the implementation of such steps.

In this respect the leadership of ministries and departments, and directors and general directors of associations, enterprises and organizations play a major part. They assume personal responsibility for the organized and efficient implementation of steps to improve the organization of wages and apply the new wage conditions.

As to releasing some of the personnel, unquestionably this will not bring about any unemployment in the Soviet Union, as bourgeois propaganda claims. Some of the released workers will find jobs at the same enterprises, filling vacancies caused by resignations, service in the Soviet armed forces, going to school, etc. It is important to use such workers also in organizing a two-and-three shift work schedule and accelerating production restructuring and updating. Some of the personnel will be quickly hired at enterprises and organizations in other sectors, including the service industry. If necessary, such workers will be retrained without any loss in salary.

In all cases of releasing workers corresponding steps must be taken on time with the mandatory participation of administrations, public organizations and labor collectives. Workers must be offered a variety of job choices at their own enterprises or transfers to other sectorial enterprises, based on information provided by the labor authorities. In order for the job placement agencies successfully to fulfill their functions, they must have at their disposal all available information on the released workers and available jobs in the respective city or area.

The restructuring of public production, economic intensification and a more efficient social policy urgently require the firm rejection of obsolete ways and means of labor incentive. It is important at this point to improve the organization of wages so as to make them consistent with developing and improving economic efficiency and the new economic methods.

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SOCIAL VECTOR OF ACCELERATION. KOMMUNIST ROUNDTABLE MEETING AT THE IZHORSKIY  
ZAVOD PRODUCTION ASSOCIATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 41-51

[Conclusion. Continued from KOMMUNIST No 18 (1986) and No 1 (1987)]

[Text] Scientific and Technical Progress: Management

B.K. Alimin, association's deputy general director for economics:

As we open the latest newspaper or journal, we see virtually everyday articles and reports on perfecting the economic mechanism. This is an accurate indication of the great attention with which not only specialists but also the broadest possible public is following the theory and practice of restructuring our economic management. Publications on this topic and talks most frequently include critical remarks and dissatisfaction with the steps taken to develop cost accounting. Although largely justified, such criticism nevertheless concentrates on the study of negative facts and phenomena, ignoring the integrality of the process which, obviously, cannot consist exclusively of shortcomings. I shall discuss the problem of the restructuring of economic life in our enterprise exclusively from the point of view of facts and trends which define today the plant's overall economic life.

As was already pointed out here, starting with the summer of 1983 our collective became involved in the engineering experiment and, as of 1985, in the large-scale experiment in expanding the rights of enterprises and increasing their responsibility for results of economic activities. What are the main results of the mastering of the new working conditions? Let me say, to avoid guessing by the participants in this discussion, that we consider them as unquestionably positive, as a confirmation of the accuracy of the course charted by the party for the national economy. Naturally, there are more numerous difficulties and unsolved problems which sometimes predominate. As a whole, however, we are moving in the right direction. Let me give you a few brief examples.

We have been able substantially to reduce equalization, particularly in the salaries of engineering and technical personnel and link more firmly the bonus system to end work results of the association as a whole and its individual subdivisions. Far-fetched unused bonus indicators have been largely

eliminated. Without going into details, let me note that the implementation of a set of steps in the area of material incentive helped us in 1985 and 1986 to fulfill the plans for resource conservation and overfulfilling the profit plan. This had not happened in the association in 15 years.

Another quite important feature is the fact that our indicators on the fulfillment of contractual deliveries improved significantly. Whereas in the past every year the association was unable to meet between 10 and 12 percent of its contractual obligations, in 1985 this figure was reduced to some 2 percent and in 1986, to less than 1 percent. Indications are that this fraction of a percent is largely not our fault but the consequence of shortcomings in the work of procurement enterprises.

Operating under the new economic management conditions, the collective sets up all of its consumption funds based on standards stipulated in the 5-year plan. We are very hopeful that the time when the ministry arbitrarily assigned funds for rewarding the collective and quite frequently, as a result of such distribution, we ended up begging, is forever gone. Today we feel considerably more confident. For example, our current material incentive fund is 50 percent higher than before the experiment. The sociocultural measures and housing construction fund has more than tripled and that of production development has doubled. The collective is firmly confident that no one would take away these funds which it has earned.

We also include among our essential positive changes the fact that we were granted additional rights in drafting contracts for cooperated commodity procurements. Whereas before the experiment as many as 20 percent of our partners had set unrealistic procurement deadlines, today their number has declined tenfold. That is what autonomy and equal responsibility in making business agreements mean.

Unquestionably, positive changes have taken place in price-setting as well. This is an extremely important and difficult matter which is today a matter of just concern on the part of many Soviet people. However, some steps taken by the USSR State Committee for Prices are an indication that problems which until recently seemed immovable can now be fully provided with an optimal solution. For example, a great deal of time and efforts were lost to legitimize a price mark-up if, based on the requirement of a customer, designers had to upgrade the quality of a given item! Today this procedure has been approved to everyone's benefit. Furthermore, the State Committee for Prices has given us the right to set our own prices for new equipment. The importance of this step is hard to overestimate.

To sum it up, let me emphasize that, as in the case of thousands of other enterprises in the country, Izhorskiy Zavod is at the very start of the restructuring of its economic activities. A number of unsolved problems remain. Against the background of the initiated movement toward full cost accounting, sluggishness and bureaucratic distortions, which are still inherent in some economic management agencies, appear a hundredfold worse. Nevertheless, we are confident that the new economic management methods will have a durable future. In turn, this means that scientific and technical progress is being given proper acceleration.



B.A. Derevyanko, chief of shop No 47:

Scientific and technical progress and accelerated efficiency may sound like simple and already customary words. However, what a great deal of human energy they contain if considered properly! It was the lot of our young and carefully assembled worker collective to realize, to experience this. Today our shop has 400 people. Who are they? Their average age is 27-28; they have families, they have become party members and true masters of their work. Five years ago, when we started something never before done in metallurgy--the free forging of huge ingots weighing between 140 and 205 tons, they were simply youngsters doing a hard man's job. They handled complex equipment, electronic and hydraulic tools working at high temperatures. Let me add to this that we had to develop the collective and its traditions on the run, to set up brigades based on high exigency and responsibility for assignments and develop pride in the work.

What can I say briefly about the results? The first and most important is that the young cadres mastered a most difficult type of work although to this day it keeps presenting us with complex mysteries. The second thing is the contemporary possibilities of technical progress: compared with 1981, labor productivity has quintupled.

Let me say a few words on the importance of moral incentive. Material incentive is important, no question! In our new shop, however, we nevertheless pay greater attention to moral incentive which uplifts the person even more and gladdens the heart of the worker. Unfortunately, such an attitude toward priority affairs and concerns is obviously in short supply outside the plant. Without belittling the popularity of soccer clubs, let me ask the following: A thousand-line article written about a soccer team deals with problems of surmounting crises, fatigue and seasonal depression.... Major studies are made of the physiology and the condition of the talocrural joint, ligaments and nerve endings.... But who and when will someone write about the hundreds of young boys, the first in the sector to forge huge masses of hot metal, so that everyone would hear about them?

Today the experience acquired in the shop is becoming necessary to anyone who undertakes to solve such problems. We see in the eyes of plant personnel and institute workers assigned to us innumerable questions and requests to tell them something. We cannot, and even if we could, the results of such "education" would be scant. The problems of developing complexes such as ours need an in-depth interpretation by specialists in all areas of knowledge.

If anyone here present would visit our shop he would be able to see that the acceleration of scientific and technical progress has begun, is intensifying. It will become even faster, the more reliable our rear lines become--scientific support, accurate economic indicators and means of solving all problems created by a powerful new technology.

L.Yu. Karlyukov, association deputy general director for personnel:

Why have we gathered here? Obviously, to coordinate our actions and better to control the restructuring process and exchange views on successes and

problems. But who can claim today that reserves in his work are being properly used? This is quite a problem for everyone. We know that our managers are also concerned with it. We have decided to help them. How?

We know that institutes do not teach practical management and that such skills are acquired through specific experience, empirical primarily, bits of information, the example of colleagues, and personal intuition. Available means of upgrading management skills unfortunately do not provide a solution to this problem. That is why we turned to the experience of frontranking enterprises and companies, including foreign ones, in setting up a specialized management school.

What kind of school is this? It is located in the plant's recreation center, with special classrooms with video equipment and tape recorders. In a 1-week course, 12 to 14 hours daily, applying active methods, we train chiefs of sections, shops and departments in specific management procedures and together seek possibilities of improving their activities.

On third of the classes teach psychology of management and how to communicate on different levels--with subordinates, managers and colleagues of equal rank. The second third is spent in business games. The final third of the training day is dedicated to discussing the information acquired by the students on foreign management practices and learning the use of personal computers.

What is the most important feature in this training? We include in the study groups specialists from all services which are mandatorily part of a single technological chain. In this manner the students not only become acquainted with the problems of others, whether job-related or not, but also become aware of the fact that they are members of the single plant management collective. A natural question is that of the training and methodical base on which all of this takes place. Naturally, we would be unable to do this alone. That is why we asked for help the department of social psychology, Leningrad State University, and the department of scientific foundations of management of the Polytechnical Institute, which showed their understanding. Today our cooperation is strengthening. A process of reciprocal enrichment is under way, for the scientists are amending their methods while the plant personnel are acquiring basic knowledge.

A new level has already been reached by the school. With the support of the party obkom, the Leningrad Gorispolkom, the USSR Minvuz and our ministry, this "amateur" plant school has developed into a department of active training methods, based on the two departments of the VUZs we named. We solved this problem in a few months, despite numerous obstacles. Sometimes we had to raise questions on the level of deputy ministers for the reason, unfortunately, that nontraditional work methods and initiative frequently clashed against very traditional bureaucratic excuses. Nevertheless, this training method which the plant and our managers need today has been established. We are confident that it will grow and develop.

B.V. Rakitskiy, head of the laboratory for political and economic problems of socialist economic functioning, USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economic-Mathematical Institute, doctor of economic sciences:

Everything told here by the plant's members reflects basic processes of contemporary practices and problems of the current stage in the restructuring. It is important, however, to rise above specific plant problems in order to see their components more clearly. Since we are discussing the human factor in progress, let us recall a few theoretical axioms.

In order to become active, to begin with, the masses must understand the nature of events and be given a target. In what direction? It is frequently said that they must be directed toward achieving the highest labor productivity and efficiency in the world. This target is too narrow. The objectives of socialism are higher and more difficult. They include unity of humanness and productivity. Socialism means the most humane social relations and the highest labor productivity combined within an organic entity.

Let us look at modern examples of progressive experience from this angle. Quite frequently, in initiating an experiment and assessing and analyzing progressive experience, we think not in strategic but in pragmatic terms. What does this mean? Progressive methods develop in our country when a given procedure begins to develop hitches and when contradictions become aggravated. For example, few freight cars are sent to the port and freight piles up on the ground. How to solve the problem? Obviously, by reorganizing the coordination among different types of transportation. Or else, let us say, engineers are paid low salaries, they do not stay at the plant and either move to other enterprises or take worker jobs. What to do? Clearly, we must find a method to increase their wages. You, I hope, have noticed that I have mentioned two Leningrad initiatives: having a unified transportation center and the experiment with engineers.

These are good projects. In both cases, however, there was not enough strategic thinking. Both progressive experiments proved insufficiently radical and failed to solve the problems completely. The point is that in determining the reasons for the difficulties, the initiators of the experiments concerned themselves only with the immediate syndromes, the external manifestations, leaving the deep reasons untouched. In the case of the single transportation center, this applied to lack of departmental coordination in making investments in the different parts of the hauling process and the absence of a unified technical policy for the development of the transportation system. The fleet developed at a headlong pace while the ports developed much more slowly and it is precisely they that became the bottleneck. Little progress was made in rail transportation. The result was a "clot" in the transportation process. The experience of the Leningrad unified transport center was not directed at eliminating the roots of the situation. The seamen had to urge the party obkom to exert pressure on the railroad workers. Clearly, one could not rely on this method forever.

Why were long-term factors not used? Because the innovators fought and acted according to the principle that "this matter is not within our competence," but within the competence of the center, Moscow, the central economic departments. However, bringing true order in our transportation center is possible only by radically raising the question of the overall transportation system. Naturally, this is, above all, the duty of the central departments and if the latter fail to do their work it means that they have become

bureaucratized. But then bureaucratism appears only where the masses remain passive. Lenin's thought remains entirely valid: bureaucratism persecutes the activities of the masses and democratization.

Now as to the engineering experiment. I may be wrong but I think that it was concentrated, once again, on a very crucial yet nevertheless narrow target: solving the problem of the earnings of designers and technologists. However, this was not simply a matter of wages, however urgently they had to be raised. The extremely important, the decisive question was satisfaction with the nature of the work, its conditions and possibilities of creative growth. Based on information published in the press, we see that today the experiment has not eased the situation. Had this matter been approached strategically, the problem would have been formulated much more broadly and profoundly, as one of streamlining the social and professional status of the intellectual in the production process. The problem should be resolved in such a way that the prestige of an engineer, economist, sociologist or any other specialist at the enterprise is raised sharply, his capabilities are emphasized much more completely and his labor career developed in such a way as to be the envy of every working person who would dream of becoming an engineer or send his children to school to become engineers; and for the conscientious worker to see as his closest comrade the conscientious engineer and both of them to struggle together against dodgers and loafers, which abound among workers and among engineering and technical personnel and employees.

I anticipate the objection that this is utopia. It is true that this cannot be accomplished unless the idea of a radical restructuring of social life has been accepted by the masses. Naturally, it is quite difficult for all of us to switch from the work style of the period of stagnation and bureaucratization to democratization. This, however, is necessary. Above all, we must advance faster in formulating problems, realizing reasons and determining strategies and tactics. We are studying this difficult science and we shall learn. Above all, we must stop merely talking of restructuring and undertake it more energetically.

Ye.G. Antosenkov, director of the Scientific Research Institute of Labor of the USSR State Committee for Labor, doctor of economic sciences:

Obviously, we must analyze more accurately and profoundly the general problems of acceleration of scientific and technical progress as well as those specific to its individual stages. I agree with Boris Vasilyevich Rakitskiy: occasionally, we are short of persistence and principle-mindedness and, not least, skill in implementing precisely the resolutions which are part of governmental strategy and actively to contribute to such strategy. The post-April period in party and social life has taught us a great deal. I believe that to us, political and other economists, the virtually most important lesson is to consider on a comprehensive basis, in the totality of its interconnections, any phenomenon in economic reality.

Let us take as an example the Leningrad engineering experiment. Practical experience indicates, as the people of Izhorskiy Zavod have proved, that its general principles are accurate, viable and just. It is no accident that to a large extent they have become the starting point for the promulgation of two

very important decrees of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU: on improving the wage system of scientific workers, designers and technologists in industry and introducing new wage rates and salaries for the personnel of production sectors. The essence of the steps currently taken is to raise wages by saving on the wage fund which can be achieved by reducing the number of working people. This is a reliable and efficient means of labor intensification and improving quality and solving social development problems. However, to go back to the engineering experiment, we cannot fail to see that the incentives it includes are insufficient in making decisive improvements in the quality of the work of design and engineering collectives.

As was pointed out here, what matters to scientific and design organizations is not only the amount of work completed but the results which such work yields in terms of the implementation of new scientific and technical solutions. Let us remember in this connection that creative work is relatively inexpensive. According to available data, substantiating a new technical solution is far less expensive than the development of its design and the latter, in turn, is substantially less expensive than making an experimental prototype.

It is clear, therefore, that it would be expedient to promote much more extensively than is presently the case the competitive system for scientific and engineering development of a great variety of problems. Many industrially developed countries have adopted the excellent practice of assigning major projects simultaneously to several companies. The best of them is chosen and further improved by adding to it the best parts of the other designs which have been rejected as a whole. In our country, in some cases permission is granted to develop projects on a parallel basis to the point of making prototypes which are then compared with each other and the best is chosen for production. The practical results, however, are that if several developments have been completed, all of them are then produced on an industrial scale. Naturally, this makes the parallel development of design senseless and, which is even more important, prevents us from lifting the creative efforts of designers to their highest potential. Meanwhile, according to some calculations, the number of possible choices in the solution of a single technical problem grows steadily. Consequently, the competitive choice of the most efficient variants of technical solutions, both now and in the future, is being unfairly ignored as a way of upgrading the results of creative efforts.

That is why it would be better to recommend to the ministries to take an "inventory" of the crucial technical problems which should be developed on a competitive basis in 1987 and 1988, and to consider the appropriation of necessary funds to reward competition winners. We believe that the one-time bonuses offered by USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics should be concentrated precisely on this.

In our view, we must also develop a method for collecting funds for wages based on labor, which would ensure a tangible dependence on economic results achieved by putting to practical use scientific research and development. This suggestion, which we formulated on the basis of the study of the Leningrad experiment, was reflected in the decree of the USSR State Committee

for Labor and the Secretariat of the AUCCTU, which postponed this experiment for 1986. The approach we suggest, will have to be concretized and tested under actual production conditions.

S.F. Chasnyk, deputy minister of power machine building:

The Izhorskiy Zavod Association accounts for a significant percentage of the sector's volume of output and, I would say, largely predetermines the intellectual potential of power machine building at the present stage. It was just and proper, therefore, for the KOMMUNIST roundtable meeting on this most important topic to be held precisely here. It seems to me that the character of the Izhorskiy Zavod people and the problems and means of solving them at the enterprise have given the only true tone to our discussion: one of not avoiding sharp angles and concentrating the attention on the main problems. It is a very good thing that both practical workers and scientists are taking part in the discussion. A productive exchange of experience and ideas is taking place and, in the final account, efforts are being combined. This is absolutely consistent with the spirit of our time.

In this connection, we can hardly consider legitimate the question of the division between party and economic activities. All of us are witnessing and participating in the integration of the efforts of party, soviet and economic bodies, which is typical of today. Obviously, this is a prerequisite for the successes achieved in the first year of the 5-year period. For the time being, we are facing in their full magnitude problems of radically restructuring all areas of social life and developing organization, discipline and exigency in the production area, features which are organically inherent in the party approach to reality.

I can clearly say that so far, in the new 5-year period, we have not combined within such a comprehensive system major party and economic documents which determine the future activities in all areas and, above all, in scientific and technical progress. The new guidelines and innovative approaches included in this program affect the vital interests of all Soviet people, for which reason they have met with a warm response in our thoughts and actions. The specific questions raised here by workers, engineers and enterprise managers directly confirm the profound interest shown by the working people in solving the problems formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress. What is the nature of some of them in terms of the topic of our discussion and the specific nature of Izhorskiy Zavod?

Above all, it is achieving the type of technological standards which would exceed foreign analogues. For the first time, our sector and other machine building sectors have been set the task of developing universal computerization of equipment. We have practically solved the main question of taking the products of sectors and individual enterprises to the foreign market. Objectives in the area of perfecting the economic mechanism and the management and organization of the production process are being intensified. Particularly relevant are problems of the social development of labor collectives. All such tasks must be accomplished immediately, as though in the midst of combat. Under this situation, we believe, the test will be passed only by managers and specialists who have a feeling for the new. This

is no mere word, for it is a question of the annual production of 20 percent of new equipment, i.e., of having this association, whose guests we are, renovate its entire volume of output every 5 years. Naturally, this requirement can be met only by people to whom innovation has become an intrinsic character feature.

For that reason outstanding talents and major personalities must show up among designers, technologists and production organizers. Contemporary reality as well demands the manifestation of the highest possible spiritual and professional qualities in the working class. I am confident that under the conditions of accelerated scientific and technical progress the practical and creative cooperation among engineers and workers will become an organic need and an inseparable part of the production process.

We do not tend to dramatize cases of engineers employed as workers, the more so since their tools govern the production cycle of a section or a shop, for in the final account a great deal of such changes is determined by the level of contemporary production and the real need for one engineer or another to change the nature of the work. This is an entirely natural process. It seems to me that in the immediate future, when Izhorskiy Zavod will have six rotary-conveyer lines, four flexible automated production systems and dozens of robotized sets full engineers will be extremely needed in such jobs! Naturally, the USSR State Committee for Labor has been justly blamed here for its obvious delay in defining the labor status in new production skills. Engineers who install and tune electronic equipment must be given the highest possible rank.

Repeated claims were addressed here to the Ministry of Power Machine Building and to sectorial scientific research and design-engineering institute. Let me assure the editors of this journal and all others who are present here that we shall look closely at the problems raised in the course of the discussion and will find solutions. We shall try to organize a meeting among leading scientists and specialists in the sector and related ministries and workers and engineers in Izhorskiy Zavod, with a view to finding new production possibilities.

From the Minutes of the Discussion

G.P. Matveyev, chief of shop No 8. Question to V.A. Parshin:

We are reconstructing our shop and the Leningprometz Institute, which is under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, is developing in it a number of significant technical innovations. In the course of such work, however, the problem of mechanizing manual labor in the work of pit makers and steel smelters is ignored. We are trying to do something in this area by ourselves but we have neither the forces nor the special skill to this effect. Will the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy deal with such matters? Young people are unwilling to work in our shop, justifiably so...

V.A. Parshin, chief of the technological department, technical administration, USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy:

The answer is simple: in the immediate future steel smelting will be such that continuous smelting will eliminate the need for pits as well as heavy manual labor. Ferrous metallurgy is moving in that direction faster than the metallurgical shops in machine building, for which reason, for the time being, some of your operations will remain manual.

B.V. Rakitskiy:

A very characteristic feature of today's way of thinking of a designer is the following: we accomplish something which is technically progressive while you (medical workers, economists, sociologists, ecologists, and so on) begin to consider whether this will harm the vital interests of the individual. If such harm is inevitable, we then start thinking jointly how to reduce it. But will the steps taken after the event drastically improve the situation in that same metallurgical production? No, and once again no. Social and natural scientists alone cannot correct the social consequences of decisions made by technicians. The entire process of scientific and technical designing must be profoundly humanized.

B.D. Parygin, head of sector, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems, doctor of philosophical sciences:

I put down in my notebook, followed by a question mark, the statement by Stanislav Fedoseyevich Chasnyk that progressive equipment solves the problem of optimizing the conditions in which the working person operates. Why? Because this claim is accurate only if made on a maximally broad scale. As to specific production facilities, not to mention individual work places, here scientific and technical progress brings about a flood of human problems.

For example, turnover in the area of microelectronics, and in sectors equipped with robots, is substantially higher than at shops with traditional machine tools. The level of potential cadre turnover in collectives servicing flexible automated production systems shows a tendency toward a significant increase. Facts, systematized by Moscow researchers, indicate that in sectors with computerized equipment, the nervous and mental stress increases drastically and a trend toward greater frequency of cardiovascular diseases is manifested.

In other words, in itself new equipment is not a guarantee of a good moral climate. There are other factors which link the individual with the work he has chosen. We must prepare ourselves in advance and seriously to solve the grave social problems created by scientific and technical progress.

Live Creativity of the Masses: A Formula for Progress

R.V. Rakitskiy: The topic of our roundtable is essentially the most difficult problem of the forthcoming restructuring--the enhancement of people's activities. Since the 1930s and 1940s a dangerous shortcut has been developing and strengthening in this area of social relations. What was primarily emphasized was a hipostasis of socialist democracy--the slogan "Everything for man!" Another no less important aspect without which socialist democracy cannot exist is the activity of the people. Socialism is



built for and by the working people. However, the second part of this formula had been applied in its standard manifestations for such a long time that it had largely become strictly formalized.

The revolutionary changes in society earmarked by the 27th CPSU Congress presume not formal but actual democratization. If we wish to implement this most important task, we must clearly realize how little prepared we are to do so. This does not apply to needs, for without true democracy we cannot resolve the problems raised by our time. We are not prepared to the necessary extent for democratization in two respects. First, we have little training in being truly active rather than engaging in formal and meaningless manifestations of activeness. Second, our leading authorities, starting with plant public organizations, have no experience in working with the active mass of working people. They are unable to maintain and direct activeness. What is the practical conclusion? It is that we must realize more profoundly the need for and the necessary extent of democratization and find its corresponding forms. It is precisely this that the question of a new way of thinking and mentality of cadres implies.

Let us consider an old task which we are not successful in implementing: developing a feeling of ownership among workers engaged in socialist production. We are doing this with the help of two methods. The first is that of loudly calling for the need for such a feeling, throwing verbal bridges from ownership by the whole people to the demand drastically to upgrade production efficiency and to be thrifty and disciplined. However, with this method we can approach only a very small percentage of our audience.

The second method is that of innovations in the area of incentives. Naturally, material incentive is extremely important. However, reducing to it the entire matter of developing a feeling of ownership would be wrong. It is one thing to encourage the individual so that he will not alienate himself from socialism, and another to reduce all socialism, the entire restructuring, to incentive and self-financing or, in general, everything, to economics only. We see from a number of experiments that in addition to pluses we frequently obtain minuses, some of which quite tangible. Let us consider the brigade. With the growth of collectivism, improvements in production organization and beginning of self-government, we frequently encounter frequent cases of arbitrariness, violations of labor rights, penalties, mutual insurance and cohesive irresponsibility. Even in the best brigade one can detect a taste for clannishness and a socially unhealthy rivalry among workers and with other brigades.

Whenever a strictly limited sector is selected in enhancing the human factor and when we tell workers, engineering and technical personnel and managers they must feel that they own everything, the result is either zero or a feeling of petty-ownership isolated from others. How to correct such a situation which occasionally develops?

The only proper answer is to involve the worker in actively solving problems affecting the entire country. It may seem that we should begin by learning economic management in our own shop, plant and rayon and only then on the level of the country. But no! We must not limit our activeness to a specific

job, section, plant, etc. In order for a worker, engineer, employee or manager to become a socialist proprietor and not a petty-owner, he must feel himself to be, at all times, in solving any specific assignment, the representative of the entire working people. This thought was expressed by Lenin. It has been included in the preamble to the USSR Law on Labor Collectives. However, it does not go beyond suitable wording. The Law on Labor Collectives actually turned out to be a document which today is of little help to restructuring and is being virtually ignored. I believe that it should be redrafted in the spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress.

V.L. Zakharov, production party committee secretary:

Honestly speaking, I have always been amazed at the ease with which the authors of some social science books or lectures discuss the education of the person and developing within him the qualities of builder of the new society. According to them, everything takes place simply and quickly: we create the necessary socioeconomic prerequisites, intensify propaganda, eliminate isolated shortcomings and the desired result is achieved! Such a social scientist should be assigned to 1 year of practical training in a shop party buro where he would learn not to throw lofty words around.... Although the statement by Boris Vasilyevich Rakitskiy contains a few arguable thoughts which should be developed further, I am nevertheless pleased to note here a serious approach to a most difficult problem of enhancing the human factor. What is our party committee achieving or failing to achieve today in its work?

Currently every member of the party committee at the association observes the strict rule of regularly attending party buro sessions and party meetings in shops, and attending classes in courses on party education. The result? Above all, it provides the opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the interests of the collective and its individual members and more familiar with the possibilities of the people and their demands. Did we not do this in the past? We did, but improperly! Paperwork predominated. This was no accident for, frankly speaking, people went to their shops as though implementing a "measure." Furthermore, it was much easier to issue instructions and draft various materials and, if necessary, look at them and submit a report without determining the real on-site situation. A formalistic approach, although verbally rejected, did not leave unaffected the work of the party organizations. This inevitably led to excessive organization and, as its direct consequence, the inertness of party organizations and many party members. We are trying to eliminate this unsuitable trend.

An example from the practical experience of one of our shops is indicative. Because of a faulty organization in the combined repair service, the shop's premises turned out to be unprepared for work in winter. According to the old method, we could have held a meeting of the party committee, attended by the involved managers, "emphasize," "draw conclusions," and so on. The objective, which was that of involving the labor collectives, would not have been achieved. The party committee decided to let the party organizations themselves solve the situation. The first session of the shop party buro was attended by the director in charge of production affairs, the party committee secretary and representatives of the various association services and their party organizations. A plan was drafted and control over its implementation

was assigned to the shop party buro. The situation developed in such a way that it required another meeting by the same people. Subsequently, however, the party buro confidently handled the assignment.

I would like to share a few thoughts on the party committee's ideological work. In my view, this is one of our most difficult sectors. Why? The direction we had previously taken of so to say unconditionally upgrading the well-being of everyone frequently developed in the minds of a large number of people into the objective of finding any way that resulted in "living well." The ability to adapt to a situation and to extract for oneself the greatest possible advantages from it not through honest toil but by profiting from the imperfections of the laws, connivance with violations and other negative phenomena developed into an informal value. The problem of eliminating this most harmful concept has risen to its entire magnitude. The main lever here is the restructuring of the economic mechanism on a cost accounting basis and revising and improving some legislative acts. However, final success can be achieved only if practical steps interact with ideological work. It is precisely the latter, however, that is revealing its weakness.

I believe that the existing training system is not only far from being perfect but is also simply obsolete and must be radically amended. Actually, we may seem to have everything, such as seminars, propagandists, materials and beautifully designed and even electrified charts hanging on walls. We invest in such work hundreds and thousands of hours with no results. Why? Naturally, because the words we say at classes are frequently at odds with the real experience of the students and do not touch their minds and feelings.

In attending classes and talking to students and propagandists, one reaches the conclusion that one of the reasons for this situation is the view of the students that they know it all, for they read newspapers, listen to the radio and watch television. Obviously, this attitude toward political training develops in secondary school. Nor are the VUZs any better. As in the past, they teach social sciences unrelated to current practices and real contradictions. Naturally, a skilled lecturer can capture the attention of his audience. However, by no means is it possible to maintain the quality of classes on the proper level.

The other reason is that frequently the propagandist himself does not understand the need for his work. Not so long ago many managers (it is precisely they who essentially work as propagandists) tried not to provoke unnecessary questions or "alarm" the audience. What about today? We must promote the activeness of the masses but this is quite bothersome for those who have become accustomed to peaceful work. Today a significant percentage of propagandists are neither willing nor able to teach political education in such a way as to enhance, to lead the audience to action.

This, in my view, is the main reason for which ideological work has fallen behind present requirements. The gap between words and actions, between what is being said in class and what people know "from life" is being sluggishly narrowed. Unless this gap is quickly eliminated we shall be in trouble. It is precisely in the practical area, in daily activities that we must harshly "veto" actions which conflict with our ideals.

Yu.I. Ovsyannikov, chief of the association's social department:

The demand for a strong social policy and awareness that production successes must be rapidly and efficiently reflected on the well-being of the working people is a very important part of the problem of enhancing the human factor. Proving this is no longer necessary. However, the practice of solving social problems frequently falls behind urgent needs. What am I referring to?

The social infrastructure in our association has never been backward, and of late, has been developing particularly energetically. Without plunging into an enumeration of facts and figures, let me merely point out that whereas in 1970 we spent 638,000 rubles on social problems, and slightly over 1 million in 1975, the 1986 sociocultural measures and housing construction fund in the association was 2.6 million rubles. As you can see, this is a dynamic growth. Housing construction, children's preschool institutions, a recreation base, a sports base, cafeterias, and all other amenities outside the production process have been developing correspondingly. However, we are by no means satisfied with our achievements. Naturally, further possibilities exist and will always exist in our work. However, a significant array of problems now exceed the range of competence of the association although it is precisely they that determine the pace of social progress. here are some of them.

In 1986 I had the occasion to attend several seminars and conferences on the work of the social departments and services in enterprises of our ministry. Here is what was striking: we analyze practical experience and study problems but there is no uniform social service. Understandably, this leads to disparities in understanding the nature of tasks and undertaking their implementation. Closely linked with such obvious shortcomings is the cadre structure of the social services, as defined by the USSR State Committee for Labor. Currently we are profoundly involved in capital and current repairs of housing and living and other functional premises. We are equipping them with technological facilities, drafting plans, etc. Can we work here without the help of design engineers and technologists? Today the social area has become quite complex and requires skilled specialists. The answer, for the time being, is simple: "Not stipulated."

Another important question is the following. Currently our department is managing assets worth 40 million rubles. They must be developed, maintained and improved. They are very necessary to the association's collective, our pensioners and our children. It so happens, however, that today we cannot do this legitimately, for the ministry is allocating extremely insufficient funds and setting limits for work in the social area. What to do?

Building with our own forces is a concept extensively mentioned today in our press and considered a positive phenomenon. In the same newspaper, however, one could read that a sovkhos director was fired and a plant director punished by the party for violations in financing such self-construction projects. Is it not time for the state to bring firm order in this area? The Gosplan assigns funds only for basic production and its computations are made on a strictly scientific basis, for which reason the production workers become extremely interested in adding some "fat," which they can subsequently trim to

finance their own construction projects. In my view, the time has come to take a sober look at the situation.

A.S. Nemtin, association party committee secretary:

In discussing the restructuring today, we must remember, above all, the people, those who are carrying it out, for today the enhancement of the human factor must imbue all decisions, all steps taken in the management area. Here as well the role of the party organizations at all levels becomes higher than ever before.

Today the association's party committee considers work with cadres its main task. It no longer suffices now to be simply technically knowledgeable or, let us say, a good organizer. What the modern manager needs is to engage in steady search, initiative and approach to any problem from a governmental position and deep feeling of human decency. I shall not mention the traditional ways and means of party committee work with cadres. Let me merely emphasize that the entire work is concentrated on awakening and strengthening in the individual a feeling of dissatisfaction with accomplishments even despite the relatively favorable indicators which our association has been able to reach. I will speak of the main feature which today describes the thoughts and actions of many of our party members as restlessness. Such an internal condition is one of the main facets of what we describe today as a restructuring of the mentality. Those who have been either unable or unwilling to find their place in the common ranks must be answerable to the party members. This includes the members of the party committee buro. No, we are not engaged in fault seeking. We are mainly trying to determine the reasons for the specific behavior of a party member and to help him find his way more quickly and reliably in the present complex situation.

I hope that the guests of Izhorskiy Zavod have noticed that the roots of many of the problems discussed in our talk are found not only and perhaps not exclusively in the activities of the enterprise. Let us consider the question of engineering skills, particularly those of design engineers. Today this problem must concern not only the plant's management but, above all, representatives of the VUZs which are training such specialists. Frankly speaking, I do not recall a VUZ director or teacher ever visiting the plant and being interested in the work done by the alumni.

I concede that many of the thoughts and suggestions expressed by representatives of academic institutions were quite interesting. What we expect of academic science, however, is not simply an instant photograph or thoughts on a given topic, but substantiated recommendations on how specifically to solve specific problems. I emphasize: we want recommendations rather than instructions which, in the course of the restructuring, we do not need. It is a good thing that at this roundtable meeting frequent statements were made about combining the efforts of scientists with those of practical workers. So, let us think together how to convert our words into actions. You have the basic knowledge and we have practical experience. It is only the blend of knowledge with practical experience that will yield necessary results, be it improving the Law on Labor

Collectives, the comprehensive mastery of the "5000" mill, conversion to multiple shift work, training management cadres, whatever.

But let me go back to party problems and mention very briefly the role which we assign today to the secretary of the shop party organization. We believe that he is in the front line of the battle being waged everywhere for the accelerated development of our country. We try to appoint to such work people who enjoy the best reputation in the collective: we have excellent shop party organization secretaries--workers. At the same time, we also try to have the party organizations in shops headed by specialists who have adequate knowledge and the possibility of profoundly analyzing the activities of the collective, encompassing the entire range of problems, and efficiently supervise the work of economic managers. Here as well we come across a contradiction which, is not typical of Izhorskiy Zavod alone.

Today a shop party organization secretary (we have shops with 500 to 800 members and 100 to 150 party members), naturally, is responsible for a tremendous number of problems. Their enumeration alone would probably take about half-an-hour. However, in addition to this difficult and extremely responsible work, the party secretary must also carry out his production obligations, for he is not a full-time party worker. Let us realistically look at this situation. In dedicating his entire strength to party work, for entirely understandable reasons he will fall behind in the area where he must justify his wages. What is more important and more necessary today? If we were to compare the plant with the army, today a shop party organization secretary is the equivalent of a battalion deputy commander for political affairs. As I recall my army service, let me say that as a rule the deputy political commander of a battalion has the rank of major. I believe, and this is not my private opinion, that we must carefully weigh the developed situation and find a constructive answer.

In speaking of the foundations of acceleration--the enhancement of the human factor--we should emphasize that here a constant contact between managers on all levels and labor collectives in the association is a universal tool. I am confident that our present KOMMUNIST roundtable meeting is being held in precisely this spirit. We have obtained quite adequate results: we have become better acquainted with one another and have exchanged thoughts and experience for the sake of the common cause we serve.

From the Minutes of the Discussion

I.I. Sigov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems, doctor of economic sciences. Question to A.S. Nemtin:

Aleksandr Semenovich, unquestionably, the problem of the enhancement of the human factor is exceptionally broad and complex. Sociological studies cover only its upper stratum, summing up public opinion on one problem or another. Nevertheless...recently, associates of our institute were asked by a Leningrad rayon executive committee to conduct a survey in a group of enterprises and organizations to determine the way the Law on Labor Collectives was being implemented there. One of the facts which was made clear was the following: about 60 percent of the respondents did not know how to exercise their right

of self-government; they had no experience in that area. Should a similar study be conducted at Izhorskiy Zavod, what would the results be?

A.S. Nemtin:

I would like to hope that they would be better. I must agree that the problem of the human factor is complex and particularly difficult. Today it is very important to know more accurately the components of the moral climate in the collective, to see the "coils," the reasons for the behavior of each one of its members. The purpose is to learn how to control moral and psychological situations and to work with the people knowledgeably, sensitively, without waiting for instructions. In 1986 38 people lost their party membership for drunkenness on the job or on the outside. This is a bitter judgment against us, for these people did not degenerate to the extent to which any other penalty became impossible in just 1 day or 1 hour. I recently talked to the secretary of a party buro at one of the subdivisions where a party member had been expelled for drunkenness. His excuse was that the plan kept him so busy that he had no time for educational work. The people, in his view, were for the plan and not the plan for the people! He was still living under the influence of the "figure" approach to party work. However, a great deal is already changing in this respect. We are doing everything possible to support good trends.

L.Yu. Karlyukov:

For nearly 1 year the "Attention" sociological telephone service has been operating in the association. By dialing 45-45, which is the number of the sociological laboratory, any worker in the association can submit constructive suggestions on upgrading production efficiency, improving planning and organization and labor incentive and conditions in his collective or the association as a whole, express his view on various aspects of the production life of the collective and turn to managers of various association services for explanations, suggestions or wishes on improving aspects of the life of the collective.

Such suggestions and questions are submitted to competent individuals, including senior personnel of the executive committee of the rayon soviet, for the purpose of taking constructive steps. We regularly publish answers in the plant's newspaper. According to our estimates, the number of people who go to see managers of subdivisions and public organizations has dropped by nearly one third. However, this is not merely a matter of saving time or other pragmatic results. The people are learning to participate in managing anything around them on the job and outside. These are political results.

A.N. Byshko, association chief technologist:

We should not be carried away excessively by this. For example, the following concerns me: we have always received from the workers suggestions on technological improvements; such suggestions are significantly fewer when coming from engineers. This was noted in the context of the experiment aimed at enhancing the work of engineering and technical workers. Could it be that

we have enhanced the importance of our best engineers who are being kept extremely busy while the others have accepted their role of "useful ballast?"

A.S. Nemtin:

Yes, a great deal of work lies ahead. The success of the restructuring and the level of labor and social activeness depend, above all, on the party members. They depend on whether they will put to practical use their desire and skill to work in a new style, as the 27th Party Congress has taught us.

[Editorial note] This concludes the publication of materials from the roundtable meeting sponsored by the journal at the Izhorskiy Zavod Production Association. The broad range of theoretical and practical problems which were considered here unquestionably deserve the close attention of anyone dealing with the social problems of acceleration, of scientific and technical progress in particular. The editors also expect to hear directly from agencies which can solve the specific problems raised in the course of the discussion. This applies, above all, to the USSR Gosplan, USSR State Committee for Labor, USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, Minpribor, Minstankoprom and Minenergomash. We believe that it would be useful for the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and the State Committee for Labor and Technology to consider the roundtable materials.

As the participants in the meeting repeatedly emphasized, the party's concepts of acceleration and restructuring are inseparably related to the enhancement of the human factor. The problems which arise in this case urgently need today a comprehensive interpretation not only on the basis of available experience but also of any work which lies in the future. This is the essential demand of the present, and a basic prerequisite for the successful advance toward the lofty objectives of our society.

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## THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST IN A TECHNICAL VUZ

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 52-53

[Letter to the editors by L. Surkova, senior instructor, department of philosophy, Ulyanovsk Polytechnical Institute, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] In my opinion, ideological work in a technical VUZ must be seriously restructured. We must begin by ensuring the efficient interaction among social, natural and technical sciences. Above all, we must ensure the active interpenetration among respective courses. The difficulty of this problem is obvious. It demands of the teachers of social subjects to study the history of natural sciences and technology and the foundations and trends of technological progress, contemporary economic thinking, and fluency in understanding the dialectics of scientific and technical development. In turn, teachers in the natural and technical subjects must develop a broad sociopolitical outlook and knowledge of methodology.

The method commissions of institutes and their departments could become actively involved in solving this problem; they could jointly discuss and single out the most important training courses and topics in the technical and natural science disciplines in the elaboration of which economists, philosophers and teachers in the other humanities could expediently participate.

Let me describe the experience of our institute. We began this work with the subject "Introduction to the Subject," delivered by leading specialists of graduating-student departments. We started by finding many points of contact among the various sciences and problems which could be solved only through joint efforts. We reached the conclusion that specialization in teaching social subjects is impossible without the active mastery by social scientists of the foundations of the courses taught by their colleagues in specific scientific areas. This is the only way leading to a significant improvement in theoretical and practical standards.

In my view, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education must take into consideration the specific nature of technical VUZs in drafting new curriculums for all subjects. In particular, curriculums for social, natural and technical disciplines should include methodological problems of

scientific and technical progress and define the specific organizational means of specialization of social scientists in the technological area in which they are training future specialists.

In the environment of an institute we frequently come across cases of pitting party against scientific work. Even in the case of social scientists, not to mention teachers of technical subjects, it is considered that dealing with party work means setting aside one's scientific interest or, at least, drastically reducing scientific productivity. Is this the case? I believe that it is not. Today the main task is to provide a profound study of aspects of VUZ life, including, perhaps most of all, ideological work in a VUZ. Quite frequently it so happens that those who head ideological work in a VUZ--social scientists as a rule--seek topics for their works anywhere but in VUZ party and Komsomol life. Yet today the party organization is in urgent need of help, based on scientific studies, in providing real support for the interaction among social, natural and technical sciences and in working with teachers and students.

Unquestionably, party training is the main form of ideological work with the faculty. Today a faculty seminar is the main method for establishing methodological contacts, a field for debates and a potential source for the solution of many practical problems. How should we reorganize its work in order to make it maximally efficient?

Practical experience indicates that in a technical VUZ such seminars should be converted from theoretical to methodological (unlike seminars for associates). They should be headed by the most prestigious specialist in the technical sciences. He must work in close contact with a member of the party buro. It would be desirable to ensure the participation of several specialists from different fields of knowledge and members of the party and economic aktivs. It is only thus that a profound and comprehensive study of problems is possible and, most important, the formulation of practically useful recommendations for problem solving.

The interaction among social, natural and technical sciences also requires corresponding organizational forms. We believe that the aspiration of some social scientists to leave departmental party organizations and to set up their own party organization at the social science department is inefficient and conservative. This would lead to alienation from problems of developing the basic natural and technical sciences studied in the VUZ and breaking contacts and cooperation with teachers in the technical sciences, and to professional exclusivity.

The practical experience of our party buro proves the expediency of assigning social scientists in work groups within the departmental party organization. Each group has its own area of work (methodical support of specialized teaching of the social sciences, sponsoring Komsomol activities, etc.).

The principle of interaction among social, natural and technical sciences must be considered also in the reorganization of Komsomol work. Only then could such work really contribute to molding the student's thinking process and creative civic activeness. True activeness is the result not of slogans but

of the daily interpretation and practical mastery of, above all, one's specialized skill. The party organization must direct the Komsomol members to promote scientific and technical progress, struggle with backwardness and conservatism and enrich the individual personality for the sake of promoting one's favorite work.

Student self-government is the most important prerequisite for organizing and ensuring the manifestation of such activeness. Its specific ways and means could be indicated by party buros and administrators. The latter, however, must abandon, once and for all, their role as traditional nursemaids and become political instructors. A great deal depends on their work for the students to undertake to solve broad sociopolitical problems, in organizing debates, evening meetings, and discotheque sessions which, skillfully organized, will promote in the students a profound interest in their work and an understanding of its social significance.

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## THE COLLAPSE OF TSARISM AND THE MYTH OF A REFORMIST ALTERNATIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 54-62

[Article by Aron Yakovlevich Avrekh, leading consulting specialist, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of USSR History, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] On the eve of the 70th anniversary of the greatest revolutionary events in Russia in 1917, the already great interest in the study of this truly inexhaustible topic has become noticeably even greater. Soviet historians and Marxist historians abroad have written a number of serious works and used many new documentary and archive materials. Efforts of a different kind have also been intensified: attempts by bourgeois historiography, Sovietology and propaganda to distort the meaning and significance of the February and, particularly, the Great October Socialist Revolution and to reanimate the thesis of the "unnatural," "accidental" and "nonmandatory" bolshevik coup d'etat and thus to prove the "anomaly" of the historical life of the Soviet state and the need to correct this "anomaly" one way or another.

"If the revolution is understood in the sense that the Tsar should concede some of his power to an elected parliament and an educated society," we read in a British work, "the revolution would have been inevitable as early as 1914. If the revolution is understood as the seizure of power by the bolsheviks... it was not inevitable" (M. McCamley, "Octobrists to Bolsheviks. Imperial Russia 1905-1917." London, 1984, pp 6-7). Russia, another "study" published in the United States points out, had a "Duma, political parties, zemstvos and military-industrial committees which were potential instruments for a transition from the old regime to the contemporary world. Had it not been the war", it is claimed, "the change could have taken place under different circumstances, less violent and with less radical consequences than those of 1917" (Sh. Fitzpatrick. "The Russian Revolution 1917-1932." New York, 1985, pp 32-33). "If only," is the intriguing heading of a recent editorial in the London TIMES, which asked the following: what would Russia have been today if there had been no October Revolution and socialism, and had it developed as a "Western-type democracy?"

Regardless of the variety of arguments and concepts, the nature of these postulates may be reduced to the following: allegedly, a real and better alternative to revolution existed in Russia, ensuring the development of the country in a "normal" and "civilized" or, in other words, standard-Western

model of modernization of its obsolete social foundations which were obstructing its progress. The statements we quoted indicate that the Russian liberal bourgeoisie could have been the leading sociopolitical force which could have led the country along that way.

History has most extensive data on the most dramatic and decisive stage in Russian history, which was, to Russia, the turn of the 20th century. This enables us to analyze with maximal objectiveness the socioeconomic and political realities of that age and to assess the nature and deployment of the sociopolitical forces in the country and to define their potential in the sense of an alternate way to revolution. Such an analysis is useful and important not only in establishing the historical truth and exposing the fabrications of bourgeois historians and Sovietologists. Addressing ourselves to the great lessons of the ideological-political and class struggle in Russia at that time helps us better to understand the historical truth of bolshevism and the continuity and consistency of our party's policy; it helps us to interpret the laws of the historical process and the features of the present class confrontation within the capitalist world and the revolutionary liberation movements of our time.

Thus, by the turn of the century, Russia faced the main problem of its further national development--the choice of ways of an urgently needed economic and political bourgeois renovation. As a great power and a complex combination of nationalities, it could no longer develop any further without basic and essentially revolutionary changes. Otherwise, under the conditions of the fiercest possible imperialist competition and direct confrontation in the international arena, at best it faced the threat of becoming a second-rate power. The problems which faced the country were, therefore, of historical significance and required an urgent solution.

History teaches us that there are two ways of solving such problems by a society: revolutionary and reformist. Marxism has nothing in common with fatalism and has always proceeded from the variant nature of history. On a purely theoretical basis, at the turn of the century Russia indeed had two choices: the victory of a bourgeois-democratic revolution with a republic as its outcome, and a gradual restructuring of an old, semifeudal monarchy into a bourgeois Russian capitalism, entangled in the vestiges of serfdom, a "Prussian"-type capitalism, i.e., objectively a "reformist way leading to the creation of a Junker-bourgeois Russia" was possible (see V.I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 16, p 407). At that stage, the former coincided with the interests of the broad popular masses; the latter suited the interests of the ruling classes, including not only capitalists but also the semi-feudal landowners. Both embodied the aspiration to put an end to the autocratic system and to solve the problem of the land, whether that of landed estates, above all, and peasant-owned land which embodied an extremely backward and semi-feudal land-owning structure.

Historical experience proves, however, that these ways were by no means equal: revolution had priority in social progress, it was its 'locomotive'. "...In the final account, great historical problems are solved only with force," V.I. Lenin wrote (op cit., vol 10, p 313). Real reforms are the byproduct of revolution. Historical practice has confirmed this Leninist formula.

To Russia, the question of choosing a path was solved by the specific deployment of class forces. It was necessary to test practically and not only speculatively whether the country had a force which could carry out the reformist variant of development without revolutionary upheavals. Reality proved that no such force existed. The liberal bourgeoisie, dissatisfied with the unchallenged domination of the tsarist bureaucracy and the lack of elementary bourgeois freedoms in the country, thirsting to see Russia become a modern, a "Europeanized" country with a constitution and parliament, in fact proved incapable of engaging in any whatsoever serious political action.

Without providing a detailed explanation of the reasons for this historical phenomenon, let us note two of them. The first was the delayed development of Russian capitalism, as a result of which the Russian bourgeoisie as a whole, nurtured under the wing of tsarism, had not developed into a powerful and independent economic and political force. Thousands of ties linked it to tsarism, which gave it a protectionist economic policy, and to the semi-feudal class of the landed gentry. Therefore, it had never been revolutionary (unlike, let us say, the French). Furthermore, while still in the process of its establishment, the Russian proletariat had loudly proclaimed itself precisely as a political force and the opposite of the bourgeoisie. The second reason was related to the extreme gravity and depth of social, economic, political and international contradictions which could be solved only with a popular revolution.

The almost total strength of the liberal wing of the Russian bourgeoisie rested in the Cadet Party, which called itself the "people's freedom" party. During the first Russian revolution the Cadets had shown their sympathy for the revolution, condemning only its "excesses." In 1906 the Cadet Party made a more or less real effort to make the Duma politically powerful, not entirely but only a third of it, leaving the other two-thirds of the power to the Tsar and the upper chamber (see V.I. Lenin, *op cit.*, vol 12, p 287). As subsequent events proved, this was the only such attempt made, for the Cadets subsequently never reached such heights. The source of their radicalism at that time came from constitutional illusions, which were a reaction to the failure of the first open attack on tsarism.

The Cadets, the "lower classes" (the peasantry above all) and the "upper classes"--the Tsar and the government--all relied on the Duma. With its help both the upper strata and the liberals (represented by the Cadets) hoped to divide the forces of the revolution and channel them into a legal "parliamentary" struggle, replacing the slogan of constituent assembly with that of legislative Duma and the demand for a republic with a constitutional monarchy. The common base of these hopes was the already obsolete reliance on the peasantry and its traditional conservatism and age-old faith in the Tsar. "The dullard will come to the rescue," the government newspaper proclaimed. "In the Duma the muzhik will rise to the level of the Cadet," repeated after it Struve, the editor of the liberal OSVOBOZHDENIYE. However, as V.I. Lenin pointed out, the very first Duma scattered these monarchist and liberal illusions once and for all. "Even the most ignorant, undeveloped, politically virgin and unorganized muzhik turned out to be immeasurably more to the left than the Cadets" (*op cit.*, vol 17, pp 9-10).

The real objective of the liberals was not a search for a democratic alternative to absolutism but striking a deal with tsarism under conditions totally unsuitable to the people. As early as 1906, in advising the Tsar to summon the Cadets to participate in the government, Shipov, the leader of the right liberal wing, quite frankly explained that in that case the liberals "will deem it their duty significantly to limit the implementation of their party program and to fulfill their electoral campaign promises not fully but perhaps at the rate of 20 or 10 kopeks to the ruble."

The Cadets also actually accepted the 3 June coup d'etat, quite easily agreeing to become an organic component of the 3 June system as a dependent partner to their neighbor on the right--the Octobrists--at the cost of abandoning all of their own positions, which was what the Octobrists demanded of them as payment for their old "leftist" sins. It is thus that Russian liberalism quite rapidly turned from sympathy for the revolution its betrayal. This was a natural end to balancing on the political tightrope between tsarism and the people.

With its 3 June Duma tsarism achieved a nationwide alliance with the landowners and the big bourgeoisie, based on a Bonapartist policy. The 3 June 1907 electoral law was especially drafted in such a way that two majorities developed in the Duma: the Octobrist "center," which, by virtue of its mixed right-wing-liberal nature, could vote both for the right, thus creating a right-wing Octobrist majority, and for the left, with the progressives and the Cadets, thus forming an Octobrist-Cadet majority. In maneuvering between them, the government hoped to moderate the claims of the liberals with the help of the former and, relying on the latter, to make several lame liberal reforms which would not have seriously hurt tsarist omnipotence but which, nevertheless, would lead the country forward, on the path of "renovation." Combined with Stolypin's agrarian and "pacification" policies and the reaction which spread throughout the country, according to its creators and all partners in the counterrevolution, the purpose of this system was to secure the desired reformist way which would have once and for all rescued the "upper" classes from the ghost of a new revolution.

Once the euphoria was over, however, what V.I. Lenin had predicted before the opening of the Duma, after studying the situation in the country, the composition of the Duma and the correlation of forces within the counterrevolutionary camp became clear. "The situation is obvious: the implementation, albeit in a most distorted manner, of the objective tasks of the revolution is something our chambre introuvable is incapable of doing... Russia cannot come out of its crisis peacefully" (op cit., vol 16, p 144).

It became obvious, as early as 1908, that there would be no "reform" and, once again, the Cadets had to choose tactics, which became the more urgent for the "broad popular masses," as the representative from Nizhny Novgorod reported at the 1908 Cadet conference, "have adopted not even a negative attitude toward it (the Cadet Party--author) but have simply forgotten about it.... The Cadet were either forgotten or confused with the Octobrists." The appeal by right-wing Cadet A.S. Izgoyev to stop "looking to the left," threatened the party of "popular freedom" with being totally forgotten by the people. Under these circumstances, the demand of some provincial Cadets, who were better

familiar with the moods of the masses than were their leaders, to "enhance the tone" in the Duma seemed self-evident. But Milyukov, the leader of the Cadet Party, was of a different opinion. In the summer of 1909 he went to London as part of a "parliamentary delegation" to "show our representative system," as he said at the May 1909 Cadet conference.

The method of action he had chosen conflicted not only with democracy but with elementary political decency. The visit of the Russian "parliamentarians" was preceded by a visit paid by the Tsar. Its purpose was, precisely, to present the Tsar to British public opinion as a "constitutional monarch." The culminating point in presenting the Russian "constitution" and the nature of the Cadet "opposition," was Milyukov's speech at the luncheon given by the Lord Mayor of London. "As long as a legislative chamber exists in Russia," he said, "which controls the budget (which was actually not the case--author), the Russian opposition will remain the opposition to His Majesty and not His Majesty's opposition." The newspaper ROSSIYA, Stolypin's unofficial voice, rated Milyukov's speech as "the type of service to the homeland for which many of his former sins could be forgiven." "The Cadets qualified," V.I. Lenin wrote on this occasion. "...Milyukov, the party leader, was approved by the police-corrupt sheet. They served well!" (op cit., vol 19, p 55).

At the Cadet November conference, that same year, after full approval was voiced for the London speech of its leader and the activities of the entire delegation, Milyukov submitted a tactical report, the quintessence of which was expressed as follows: "The possibility of parallel activities of democratic constitutionalism and direct manifestation of the wishes of the popular masses, i.e., a revolutionary movement, is not excluded." In assessing this report, V.I. Lenin wrote: "Orderly bourgeois constitutionalism, with a monarchy at the head, is an excellent thing. However, it cannot take place without a new mass movement. Such is the result of the Cadet 'conference.' We hate the movement of the masses, we hate the 'demagogy' of 'land and will.' We hate the 'political substitutes.' We, however, are real politicians. We must take facts into consideration and direct our policy such as to parallel the movement of the masses, which is inevitable.... Let us try to secure with words about our 'radicalism' a small place in the popular movement in the way that by proclaiming ourselves an opposition to His Majesty we secured for ourselves a small place in London" (op cit., vol 19, p 182).

The third Duma brought the liberals nothing but tremendous disappointment and major political losses. Not only were there no "reforms" but it became even clearer that no such reforms would take place. The revolutionary crisis did not turn into a constitutional crisis. The Duma was nearing its term under conditions of a new revolutionary upsurge. The country was marching to a new revolution.

Disbelieving the possibility of constitutional change, the liberal bourgeoisie nevertheless continued to call for the "reform," which had been promised with the tsarist manifesto of 17 October 1905. In the summer of 1913 the same demand was made by A.S. Salazkin, chairman of the Nizhnyy Novgorod Fair and Exchange Committee. In commenting on this statement, V.I. Lenin raised the main question: "Why is it that this demand is being met with total



indifference and appears simply not serious...?" He answered it as follows: "Because Russia is in an odd historical situation..., in which reformism is particularly dull, ridiculous and helpless and, therefore, disgusting," for "everyone knows perfectly well that it is the merchants who form the majority of the Octobrists and Cadets in the Duma and that not a single one of the reforms demanded by Salazkin exist or could be possible. Everyone knows, understands and feels this" (op cit., vol 23, pp 395-396).

"Everyone" meant above all the liberals. No longer believing in "reforms" but nevertheless absolutely rejecting the anti-reform way to reforms, the Cadet and the likes put all their hopes on a "miracle," on some external event which would put an end to the deadly hopeless stagnation. Anything was acceptable for the sake of preventing a revolution. "Anything is Better!" was the editorial in RECH, which summed up the happenings of 1912. To the liberals war was the miraculous solution. Faced with the choice of war or revolution, they unhesitatingly chose war, thus morally sanctioning the murder of millions of their compatriots for the sake of preventing the "horrors of revolution" and satisfying the imperialist aspirations of their class. As Cadet I.V. Gessen said, they preferred "a frightening leap into the unknown" to the clear, realistic way, which would have cost a hundred times fewer casualties, the way chosen by the revolutionary social democrats.

The Cadets welcomed the war also because it relieved them from the burden of being in the opposition, which bothered them a great deal. It was in this spirit that at the one-day 26 July 1914 Duma session, convened on the occasion of Russia's entry into the war, on behalf of his party, Cadet leader Milyukov solemnly stated: "All of us are together in this struggle. We set no conditions or demands (to the government--author)." The burden of being in the opposition had been finally lifted and the previously "responsible opposition" firmly intended to forget about it, at least for the duration of the war. This dream did not come true, however, destroyed by the war itself.

The military reverses of the summer of 1914 forced the liberals, once again, to pass into the opposition. The defeats proved clearly and convincingly that the Tsar and the camarilla headed by Rasputin and the Tsarina were rapidly taking the country to social and military catastrophe. However, this new and final round of liberal opposition had one noteworthy feature: it was made apparent only after the cadets had become convinced that, together with them and for the same reason, the right wing had joined the opposition's campaign (excluding the Black Hundreds and the extreme right); it was precisely the right wing that had joined the opposition and not the Octobrists and the progressives. This is a very important fact, for it answers the question of the nature of the "Progressive Bloc," which was the result of the August 1915 unification of the Duma factions on a platform opposing the regime, which led to the establishment of a single majority in the Duma instead of the previous two, thus marking the end of the 3 June system.

Through the 1970s the concept which dominated Soviet historiography was that the "Progressive Bloc" was, to begin with, exclusively an association of bourgeois Duma factions and that, secondly, its purpose was to fight for sharing political power with tsarism. In this connection, it was the Cadets who were considered the initiators of the Bloc, with Milyukov as the Bloc's

leader. The facts prove that the situation was the precise opposite: in addition to the right-wing and the other liberals (Octobrists, Progressives, Cadets) the Bloc included two right-wing factions, the "Progressive Nationalists," headed by V.A. Bobrinskiy and V.V. Shulgin, and the "Center," headed by P.N. Krupenskiy and V.N. Lvov. It was precisely they who had started the "Progressive Bloc," and not in the least the Cadets.

The main point of the agreement was the demand for a so-called "ministry of trust." It was precisely this that Soviet historiographers interpreted as a demand for a share of political power. Actually, it meant that the Cadets were abandoning their main programmatic "parliamentary" principle--a "responsible ministry"--which would truly aspire to a share of the power. It was precisely at the cost of this rejection that the "central factions" in the Duma were able to reach agreement. What the members of the Bloc meant by a "ministry of trust" was nothing but a government consisting of honest and competent bureaucrats, who could lead the country under the conditions of war and dislocation in a more or less acceptable fashion.

The Bloc declared war on the "power system," by which it meant not the power of the Tsar as such but the system of high governmental appointments which were being made on Rasputin's and the Tsarina's instructions, taking as their starting point precisely the "qualification of incompetence," which ensured personal loyalty to one's mentors. All that the "ministry of trust" meant was a government free from the power and influence of the camarilla headed by the Tsar's "friend."

The purpose of a "ministry of trust" was precisely an acknowledgment of the inadmissibility of fighting for power under wartime conditions. The common starting point of the right wing and the liberal segments in the Bloc in justifying this inadmissibility was that horses must not be changed in midstream. This was persistently claimed by Milyukov at a meeting of the Cadet Central Committee and at the Sixth Party Congress, in February 1916. Speaking on behalf of the Bloc, in his 19 November 1916 Duma presentation, Shidlovskiy, chairman of the Bloc's bureau, said: "I state most firmly that this thought (of overthrowing the government and seizing the power) never came to our minds. No one has ever defended this idea from this rostrum and no one has ever had such an intention."

The main purpose of the Bloc was different: to prevent a revolution. The "political sense" of the Bloc, Milyukov was to write many years later, "was a final effort to find a peaceful solution to the situation which was becoming increasingly threatening with every passing day." This was confirmed by Shulgin: "The revolution has still not appeared" because for the time being the Bloc is able to "replace 'the revolution,' i.e., the blood and destruction, with a 'resolution,' i.e., with a verbal condemnation of the government."

The Cadets' acceptance of an alliance with the right wing was strategic and not tactical. For a number of years, starting with 1905, Milyukov had stubbornly rejected the demand of Struve and others to take the road of open counterrevolutionary liberalism, hoping for "parallel action" with the revolutionary democrats. He clearly realized that even the "rotten," as V.I.

Lenin said, "Prussian path of capitalist development could not be achieved without a number of general democratic and quite substantial pressures on the tsarist government. Now, after the formation of the Bloc, a decisive end was put to this idea and the leader of the Cadets began to slant exclusively to the right. The hope was that under the circumstances of war and dislocation, when the masses were facing the problem of simple physical survival and the revolutionary organizations, the bolsheviks above all, were being steadily routed by the police, the revolution was impossible and a military victory, on which the entire counterrevolution relied, as historical experience confirms, would be the most powerful antirevolutionary factor.

On the other hand, the Cadets were convinced that theoretically as well they were right and that under the conditions of a most acute crisis the regime would not dare to isolate itself from related social forces which the Bloc represented. "In this case," Milyukov explained this consideration, "our strength is that of the obvious." He claimed that a government which would ignore the Bloc "could not endure."

Nevertheless, tsarism was still "enduring," and the reliance of the Cadets on the "Progressive Bloc" burst like a soap bubble. The Bloc was not given a "ministry of trust" and nor did it prevent the revolution. Nevertheless, with a persistence worthy of better use, to its very last hour Russian counterrevolutionary liberalism clinged to the regime and the monarchy, forgetting a reformist and democratic alternative. However, the policy of preserving the monarchy and sharing the power with it had no future, for it clashed with the moods of the masses.

The fear of revolution doomed the Cadets to political helplessness. Retrospectively, as an exile, rejecting right wing accusation of the involvement of the Cadet party in "making" the February revolution, Milyukov wrote: "I personally had always had a negative attitude toward the revolution.... In any case, I did not wish a revolution in wartime and personally I bear no blame for it.... The 27 February revolution was not made by us and was against our wishes...." "The revolution overthrew this power without their participation. It is not they that did the overthrowing," wrote in her diary, dated 28 February 1917, Z. Gippius, a lady whose sympathy were by no means on the side of the revolution and the revolutionary masses. "It was only automatically that they had remained on the surface, passively, on the spur of the moment."

Nevertheless, what was the reason for which the regime so stubbornly refused to provide a "ministry of trust," which was actually such a petty matter which did not diminish the power of the Tsar by an iota but could ensure the unconditional support of the land owners and the bourgeoisie on whose behalf the "Progressive Bloc" spoke and acted? However obsolete the system was, and however corrupt, even under normal circumstances it should not have refused this support, not to mention under extreme circumstances. From the viewpoint of basic common sense, Milyukov's reliance on the "power of obviousness" was entirely justified. Tsarism, however, was not so simple or shortsighted as the Cadet leader imagined. It too had learned something from the 1905-1907 revolution, which told it that this was a major matter from the viewpoint of its interests, asking itself what was better: to accept the liberals'

suggestion or, conversely, to reject it scornfully. Experience indicated that the latter was preferable.

As early as February 1914, in a note to the Tsar, cautioning against war with Germany, P.N. Durnovo, the leader of the right wing in the State Council, raised as his main argument the amazing fact of the weakness of Russian liberalism. "Although this may sound paradoxical," he wrote, "an agreement with the opposition in Russia would unquestionably weaken the government. The point is that... the opposition does not represent any kind of real force. A "deep gap of reciprocal lack of understanding and mistrust" existed between it and the people. Therefore, should revolutionary activities break out, caused by military defeats, which would be inevitable, for the country is not prepared to wage war, neither the Duma nor the "opposition-intellectual parties would be able to restrain the spreading of a popular wave raised by the opposition and Russia would plunge into deep anarchy, the outcome of which defies any prediction."

What was quite indicative in this case was that after he had gone into exile, Cadet Maklakov fully acknowledged the far-sightedness of his right-wing opponents. "Curiously enough," he wrote, "the predictions of the right wing proved prophetic. They predicted that the liberals in power would merely be harbingers of the revolution to which they would surrender their positions. This was the main reason they so stubbornly fought liberalism." In other words, both Durnovo and Maklakov unwittingly confirmed the accuracy of V.I. Lenin's claim, made as early as 1906, to the effect that the Cadets were merely the "foam" brought to the surface by the revolution. This essential fact entirely explains the nature of the counterrevolutionary aspects of Russian liberalism expressed by Lenin in a formula he kept repeating: the liberals represent and express the interests of a "class which fears the revolution more than it does the reaction" (op cit., vol 23, p 372).

For the sake of historical truth, however, we must emphasize that the fears of the bourgeois--capitalists, industrialists and bankers--and the bourgeois intellectuals, the Cadets, were nevertheless quite different: the former cared above all and essentially for their wealth; the latter were motivated by the interests of the state and the nation, as they understood them. Actually, the main argument of the liberals, as that of Durnovo, was that under Russian conditions, with an ignorant people, and with a great deal of hatred and despair accumulated after centuries of oppression, and with a weak and small intellectual stratum and a small middle class, the weakness of legal and other institutions would inevitably turn the revolution into a destruction of Russian statehood, for which the people had been such a stiff price. Two descriptive epitets or images of the Russian revolution were circulated: "Pugachevism," which was understood to mean "senseless and merciless" rebellion, and "Acheron," a river in hell which swept off all that stood on its way. Even in the West, Struve and others pointed out, the price of revolution had been quite high and, above all, as historical experience had indicated, a period of reaction always followed any revolution. This would also be the case, they claimed, with Russia.

Nevertheless, after the mensheviks and the S.R. the Cadets gave their "high agreement" to consider the February revolution "legitimate" and acceptable,

unlike the October Revolution, which they proclaimed to be outside the law. The secret of this support is obvious. The February revolution, as we know, put the bourgeoisie in power, the Cadets above all. Had they been able to hold on to it the whole script could have been rewritten. Many years later, that same Maklakov was to write that "without the October Revolution matters would have developed differently, routinely; ties with the past would not have been totally broken. Despite the revolution, although not immediately, the past would have eventually made its way. Without the October Revolution, the February revolution could have remained a surface upheaval."

In the final account, it was triggered and prepared by the reaction. Had that reaction been able to bring order, the transitional difficulties of February would have soon been forgotten and future generations could indeed look at the February revolution as marking the beginning of a better age. The old classes would have remained in Russia and so would have the old social system, perhaps as a parliamentary monarchy or a republic."

It was thus that the liberals imagined a reformist alternative. By scaring others with Pugachevism and general dislocation, the Cadets concealed their own historical lack of substance and organic leaning toward the reaction and the inability of the Russian bourgeoisie to become a real "third estate." As early as February 1911, mulling over the ambitions of Cadet publicist Izgoyev, who had said that "it is always another class (i.e., the bourgeoisie--author) that tries to replace the falling class (i.e., that of land owners and the nobility--author)," V.I. Lenin wrote: "Not always, Mr. Izgoyev. It so happens that both classes, the one that is falling and the one that is 'aspiring,' are already quite corrupt.... There is such a liberal bourgeoisie... which fears to 'take the place' or, rather, to gain a small place, even the place of a flunky, without, assuming the place of the 'falling class,' and as long as it does not push the falling class to the point of a 'fall.' It does happen, Mr. Izgoyev" (op cit., vol 20, p 154). Yes, indeed, this also happens and Russian bourgeois liberalism proved this most convincingly. It proved unable to lead the country on the path of ordinary bourgeois-democratic development.

Starting with a demand for a "constitution," "constituent assembly," "universal vote," and so on, on the eve of the October Revolution and during the civil war, Russian liberalism logically ended with a political program, the essence of which, in two words, was "counterrevolutionary dictatorship," cruel, bloody and long. This precisely was its real alternative to the revolutionary development of Russia. The liberal-reformist alternative, which is so stubbornly emphasized by bourgeois "researchers" of our history proved to be no more than a myth.

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## GENERATIONS OF PEOPLE AND GENERATION OF MACHINES

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[Article by Edvard Artunovich Arab-Ogly, editor of the philosophy and scientific communism section of KOMMUNIST, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor]

[Text] The problem of man is to be found at the point where the social problems of the scientific and technical revolution intersect with their consequences to society. What will the place and role of man be under the conditions of an increasingly automated and, subsequently, robotized production process? What prospects will the individual have in the "computerized" society of the future? Will man become a helpless dependent of ever more advance machines, as some Western scientists and ideologues fear, or else, conversely, will the scientific and technical revolution be paralleled by the assertion and ennoblement of man and the further development of the individual, as is believed by the Marxists and the progressive and perspicacious Western scientists who share this viewpoint?

These and other similar problems are by no means of purely academic interest. This conceptual dilemma is a reflection of the real clash between two alternative ideas concerning the practical approach to be taken in the development of scientific and technical progress. The concept which deliberately leads to a belittling of the active role of man in an automated production system, his voluntary or forced adaptation and subordination to an ever more advanced and refined technology, independent of himself, has become widespread in the West. It considers the "human material" as the most unreliable "part" of any complex technical system, a part which, if possible, should be eventually eliminated and replaced by a man-made object. This concept is not only antihumane in terms of content but also utopian in the sense of its possibility of attaining it, although the aspiration to implement it could cause and is already causing tremendous harm to the working people in the capitalist society.

An essentially different concept of the social prospects of the scientific and technical revolution has been most consistently presented and substantiated in the Marxist-Leninist vision of the future of mankind and in the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress. This concept proceeds from the growing role of man in all areas of social activity and is oriented toward the human factor in

scientific and technical progress. As it embodies the humanistic ideal of future generations, it brings into action the powerful constructive impetus of mankind.

## I

In the history of mankind technological ages are separated above all by the level of development and nature of their production forces. In this case (however far we go back into history) production forces of any society include two basic components (or elements): the people themselves, the direct producers, with their experience and labor skills and the instruments, labor tools and technical means they have created. The labor process, considered as economic activity, combines within itself, in a state of organic unity both components which, as defined by Marx, are only conceptually different as relative opposites: "...On the one hand, we have the material means of production and objective production conditions; on the other, we have the operating work force,...the subjective production condition" (K. Marx and F. Engels "Soch." [Works], vol 49, p 36). In political economy it is traditionally accepted to describe one of the components as materialized and the other as live labor.

Ever since Adam Smith created the theory of labor value, for the past 200 years the problem of the correlation between present and past labor in the production process has been the main subject of political economy. As a rule, the tendency to exaggerate the role of materialized labor or fixed capital and to belittle the role of live labor in the creation of value has always been typical of bourgeois economists; in their eyes the accumulation of fixed capital has embodied social wealth. Marxian scientific genius and social perspicacity were needed to bring to light the priority of live as opposed to materialized labor under industrial production conditions and to prove that however perfect production tools may become, man remains the main productive force of society. Contrary to the opinion of contemporary bourgeois economists, the scientific and technical revolution has by no means been paralleled by a depreciation of labor in production. It has merely added a new component to the production forces of society, i.e., knowledge, which assumes a relative independence and a predominant significance in the economic activities of people compared with the remaining traditional components. In addition to people and technical production means, science is increasingly becoming and effective production force. However, it assumes among them its own place not as an intangible spirit but as a new quality, an additional dimension specifically embodied in the two other components: live knowledge, the bearers of which are the producers themselves, and materialized knowledge which is found in contemporary production tools. Economic activities of society under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution are as impossible to accomplish without the dialectics of live and materialized knowledge as is the process of industrialization without the dialectics of live and materialized labor.

In other words, the scientific and technical revolution by no means created the productive force of knowledge out of thin air any more than, before it, the industrial revolution had created the primary material means of production. Both technological revolutions, however, systematically turned

the existing and previously necessary conditions into relatively autonomous and determining factors: the industrial revolution transformed manual tools into machines, and crafts into industries; in addition to empirical knowledge and daily experience, the scientific and technical revolution introduced in economic activities systematic and theoretical knowledge, increasingly turning science into a direct social production force.

In this connection, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the traditional philosophical problem of the interrelationship between man and technology assumes growing conceptual significance and increasingly clear ideological facets. The aspiration to interpret this problem develops, as a rule, in Western social consciousness on the one hand into a veneration into the omnipotence of technology and, on the other, a militant technophobia. Despite a seemingly diametrically opposite attitude toward technology, both distorted perceptions are essentially based on the idealistic pitting of spirit against matter, the world of people against the world of things, and man against technology, belittling the human factor and praising (with sympathy or antipathy) the tools and means of production man has created, to which the role of a newly hatched demiurge is ascribed.

Materialized knowledge, like materialized labor, has assumed a "dominant" significance in bourgeois awareness for entirely understandable social reasons. After the industrial revolution, as a result of the mass development of machines and the reduced importance of individual worker skills, technology in the capitalist production method began to include increasingly not only materialized labor but materialized knowledge. Under capitalism, this "materialization of technology" was accompanied by its economic and ideological alienation from the direct producer: henceforth, it was not labor tools that were considered the inorganic extension of the producer but man himself was considered an appendix to the machine, a "living cog" of the production process.

Given such socioeconomic and ideological encrustations, the entirely real priority of live over materialized labor and live over materialized knowledge was retained under industrial production conditions, although less on an individual basis than in terms of the overall worker. Therefore, it is only the systematic space and time division of labor into a series of simple (basic) operations in manufacturing that led to the creation of the initial machines which could replace the partial worker. In turn, at the beginning of the 20th century it was only the systematic division of labor in machine output into a multiplicity of most simple and extremely monotonous mechanical operations that brought about the widespread development of conveyor-belt production and, subsequently, automation.

Initially the new, advanced and more refined machines, mechanisms and automatic systems, brought to life by the scientific and technical revolution, should have embodied even more clearly no longer the simple predominance but also the immeasurable superiority of materialized knowledge, compared with the technical capabilities of the direct producers. Actually, it is the opposite trend that is becoming increasingly apparent. The contemporary automated production system is eliminating not man in general but the partial, the unskilled worker (strictly speaking, automation can replace only his work on a



mass scale). At the same time, however, as Marx predicted, man continues to work productively side by side with automation, acting as its creator, regulator and controller (op cit., vol 46, part II, p 213). Instead of being an appendix to a machine man becomes an independent factor of economic activities. Requirements concerning his professional skills and competence and, perhaps, the role of live knowledge, the bearer of which he is, drastically increase and become ever more obvious. It is thus that the scientific and technical revolution takes us back to the initial meaning of the concept of "technology" as the art, skill, mastery and virtuosity of the worker in handling the means of production.

It is precisely human labor, less in terms of the extent of expended physical efforts than the intellectual, moral and cultural ingredient it contains, that is the most important and determining factor in production and, in general, in the constructive activity of any society. As V.I. Lenin noted, "The worker, the working person is the prime production force of all mankind" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 359). This Marxist concept retains its entire validity under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution as well.

The rapid development and advancement of production forces in the course of the scientific and technical revolution only superficially appears as a headlong increase in the share of materialized compared with live labor and with the human factor in public production. Contemporary ocean-plying supertankers, which displace nearly 1 million tons, are run by crews smaller than the tiny caravelles of Christopher Columbus' time! Huge airbuses which, depending on the distance, can carry 350 to 500 passengers across thousands of kilometers! Huge technical installations, such as hydraulic power plants and nuclear electric power plants generate millions of kilowatts of power! Powerful rockets, can put in orbit hundreds of tons of payload! "Fourth generation" computers can perform millions of operations in a second! Compared with these most powerful technical means created by modern man, man himself may seem to be dwarfed, reduced in his dimensions.

Such a concept, which distorts reality, objectively proceeds from the fact that objective-material and subjective-personality components of production forces cannot be measured in terms of comparable values: the first, in terms of fast growing outlays for technical equipment and systems, are usually estimated in terms of money, whereas the latter are estimated through the size of the manpower. In other words, in terms of the worker we apply an abstract, a nonhistorical approach of man/unit, invariable and equal in all ages. This illusion, however, scatters the moment we use the same scale in estimating both components of production forces.

Thus, the cost of technical production facilities increases at a headlong pace even if prices remain unchanged. For example, at the beginning of the 1980s each new job in the U.S. processing industry required an investment of several tens of thousands of dollars. However, nor does the reproduction of manpower remain steady. If we convert from the monetary expression of this value to another more objective measurement such as outlays determined in terms of man/years of labor, opening a new job is the equivalent of approximately three annual wages of a skilled worker; outlays for the upbringing, education and

professional training of a worker who can efficiently work at this job are significantly higher, for raising a child alone takes a family the equivalent of 4 to 5 years of its income.

While the newly hatched Luddites and militant technophobes in the West are bemoaning the fate of man whose role, allegedly, is being depreciated by omnipotent technology, practical businessmen are increasingly realizing the growing role of knowledge in general and, particularly, of live knowledge in production: in this connection they consider the maximal utilization of intellectual capabilities and initiatives of their personnel the most important prerequisite for successful corporate operations. Even the most advanced technological equipment, and even were it to include the entire production cycle delivered to the customer as an enterprise ready for work loses a considerable if not most of its value unless it comes with thorough technical documentation describing its most efficient utilization and all sorts of "production secrets" expressively named "know how" (i.e., literally, "knowing how to do it"), and backed by skilled specialists and properly trained workers. The role of live knowledge is steadily growing in the contemporary production process and technical documentation accompanying equipment increasingly becomes the real "key" which turns on its technological potential. Even the most advanced and fast computer of a "third" or "fourth" generation is nothing but expensive technical scrap without corresponding software and highly skilled programmers, competent analyzers and experts. The cost of complementing software (i.e., knowledge in its "purest" aspect) is rapidly growing, compared to the cost of the computer itself; in the 1960s it accounted for approximately one-half and, in the 1980s, four-fifths of the sales price of the computer.

## II

As we know, although it is a tremendous intellectual resource of society, knowledge is not included statistically in its national wealth which is essentially assessed only in its material form. Nevertheless, a comparison between intellectual and material wealth, even on a most general and approximate basis, makes a certain sense and enables us to judge of the increasing role of knowledge under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution.

Thus, based on 1985 data, the national wealth of the USSR amounted to 3.6 trillion rubles, nearly 1.6 trillion of which was the value of basic production capital. The country's national economy employed more than 130 workers, employees and kolkhoz members. At the beginning of 1987, nine-tenths of old people employed in the national economy had higher and secondary (full or incomplete) training. This included 15 million people with higher training and 20 million with secondary specialized training; 500,000 people had earned the degree of candidate or doctor of sciences. The outlays of the state per person per year in preschool and secondary educational institutions amounts to several hundred rubles, compared with more than 1,000 in higher educational institutions. Taking also into consideration outlays for vocational training of the workers and for upgrading their skills and retraining them on or off the job and private expenditures for such purposes (purchasing books, subscribing to periodicals, etc.), all such "accumulated costs of education"

per employed person could be compared on an average with the cost of basic production capital. Since materialized knowledge accounts for only a smaller part of the overall cost of its accumulation in the value of such assets, we can justifiably claim that live knowledge is substantially more expensive compared to materialized knowledge. If we take into consideration not only the "cumulative costs of education" but all outlays for training a person today, including expenditures for raising the growing generation in the family, health care, etc., it is precisely the "human capital," in the broadest possible meaning of the term, embodied in the existing population, that becomes the true basic capital of society. However huge the national wealth accumulated by society may be in its material aspect, man is increasingly becoming the main wealth not only for sociophilosophical and humanistic considerations and moral criteria but in terms of economic dimensions as well.

The attitude toward intellectual wealth is radically different in the opposite --socialist and capitalist--systems. In capitalist society, despite obligatory education, obtaining a vocational skill, higher education in particular, is essentially the private concern of individual citizens; to many of them it is all together inaccessible for financial considerations, the more so since the cost of attending universities and colleges is increasing rapidly and the number of scholarships is being reduced. Training on credit, currently practiced in the United States, enslaves the future specialists for a number of years during which they must repay the loans. Anarchy dominates the training of skilled trainees, as a result of which hundreds of thousands of specialists with higher training are unable to use their knowledge while specialists in many areas are urgently needed (see MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No 1, 1987, pp 122-124). State-monopoly capitalism is extremely wasteful in the utilization of the intellectual wealth of society. It is only under the pressure of the public and the trade unions that the bourgeois states and individual monopoly corporations take quite limited and inefficient steps to ensure the professional training of the growing generation and the retraining of cadres in the most critical economic sectors. Millions of people are doomed to permanent technological unemployment, becoming "surplus" people in society, unable to put their labor and knowledge to use.

Conversely, in a socialist society the entire system of education, vocational guidance and training of cadres is an area of major state policy. Society assumes the full cost of education, including higher education, which become accessible to all population strata. The efficient use of labor resources and the intellectual potential are an organic part of long-term social and economic development plans. The 27th CPSU Congress noted that inherent in socialism is a scientifically substantiated and humanistic approach to education. It also emphasized, however, that in this connection at least two very difficult problems arise. First, ensuring the faster development of secondary and higher schools compared with the technical reconstruction of the national economy. Second, organizing or, rather, restructuring the state system for retraining and continuing vocational growth of cadres. Socialism neither can nor will allow that, as a result of scientific and technical progress, large groups of working people which could run into the millions, become surplus people, unprepared for work under the new conditions.

### III

The accelerated progress of society is one of the most general sociological laws in universal history. In the transition from one age to another and the advance from one socioeconomic system to a higher one, despite its entire unevenness, the "rhythm of history" shows a general growth, affecting all areas of human activities. In mankind's economic history, the acceleration of its "rhythm" is clearly manifested in the steady change of generations of equipment.

Naturally, a new generation of equipment means not simply replacing a broken or worn-out labor tool with a similar item only slightly improved. New equipment generations consist of more advanced labor tools, instruments, mechanism, etc., which are, in perhaps only a single or, frequently, in several respects (parameters) at least twice as efficient.

This change of equipment generations has taken place throughout economic history at the same time as changes in another element of social production forces--generations of immediate producers--people (there are three generations of people per century and 30 per millennium).

The scientific and technical revolution has introduced an unprecedented inversion in the uninterrupted process of renovation of material and subjective-personal components of social production forces: for the first time in the economic history of mankind the pace of changes of new equipment generations began increasingly to outstrip the pace of change in worker generations. Today, within a single human generation, during the active labor life of a person, which has reached almost 40 years, several generations of equipment change in the advanced production sectors. This process is beginning to spread throughout all economic life. So far, the immediate, not to mention the more distant social consequences of such a technological inversion have still not been realized not only by the broad public but also by many economic managers and some scientists.

No more than some 40 years have passed since the beginning of the scientific and technical revolution. Historically, this is a very short time, only slightly exceeding, as we pointed out, a single generation of people. Within that period, however, there has been an even more thorough technological updating of the production process compared with the change of several hundred generations in primitive society, several generations in antiquity and the middle ages and a few generations in the 19th century. In the field of electronics, which is being increasingly applied in all areas of social life, four generations of computers have already changed and a fifth is actively being developed: within a period of a few years one generation of communications satellites is being replaced by another, each one of them superior to the previous generation in the number of channels of communications; in aviation, jet engines had barely replaced piston-driven engines when airbuses appeared and supersonic aircraft are currently being designed; in the nuclear power industry, in addition to the first generation of reactors, new reactors have appeared operating on neutron-breeders; even in a traditional sector such as the textile industry a new generation of looms is

being used. The so-called "microelectronic revolution" indicates that the change of generations will not only accelerate but also become comprehensive.

The process of continuing accelerated technical updating of the production process is irreversible. In the course of its development physical wear-out of equipment takes second place along with moral obsolescence, to the fast aging of materialized knowledge which takes no more than a decade and sometimes even while the enterprise which will produce the new items is being built.

The process of rapid obsolescence or moral wear and tear applies not only to knowledge materialized in technical equipment but also to live human knowledge. The speed of this process, by analogy with the period of the half-life of radioactive elements, is usually defined as a time interval in the course of which existing knowledge, including the skills of a worker, becomes depreciated by one-half. The pace of such obsolescence of knowledge varies among the individual scientific and technological sectors: according to some published evaluations by experts, such periods may range between 5 and 7 years in the most rapidly developing scientific areas, to 10-12 years in many areas of science and technology and up to 15 years in some practical science sectors and engineering and technical specialties. Naturally, the term "obsolescence of knowledge" itself is used metaphorically, for objective knowledge as part of science is not "corroded" like a worn-out battery. Outstanding scientific discoveries, however far into the past they may have been made, whether Euclidian geometry, the geocentric system of Copernicus, laws of mechanics discovered by Galileo and Newton, Mendeleyev's periodical system of elements, Einstein's theory of relativity, and so on, retain their scientific and cognitive value and have not become "worn-out" in the least from their long practical application. We are referring to the fact that as a result of the headlong increase in the volume of scientific and technical information, within a specific period of time the volume of knowledge doubles compared with its beginning.

The fast growth of accumulated knowledge makes it urgently necessary for society, as a technological imperative, radically to update social production forces within a similar period of time, in order to avoid increasing technical backwardness. Obviously, such a fast change of generations of equipment with the total substitution of production assets within such a short time would be an unbearable economic burden to society. For that reason the only rational solution to this situation is the conversion from rigid to flexible technological systems which can meet already formulated requirement by efficiently restructuring production processes without the need for total replacement of equipment. However complex this problem may be, it is essentially a technological one, i.e., it depends on the inventiveness of scientists, engineers and technicians.

That same technological imperative retains its validity in terms of live knowledge as well, thus creating one of the most urgent and difficult social problems of the scientific and technical revolution. Although live, unlike materialized knowledge, is not so rigidly related to its material carriers, nevertheless, after the individual has developed his own concepts and habits,

professional knowledge and production experience become his "second nature," and are very difficult to change.

We can have an idea of the exceptional, the unprecedented complexity of the repeated and radical updating of professional knowledge in the course of a single generation by comparing this problem to the manner in which workers gained new production experience in the past. In previous technological ages, when one generation of labor tools was replaced during many or several generations of people, the process of adapting life to materialized knowledge was so gradual that, in general, it presented no social problem. It is only during the second half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries that the timely professional training of the future workers began to acquire growing socioeconomic significance. However, until the advent of the scientific and technical revolution the overwhelming majority of workers could rely on the fact that the knowledge they obtained during their basic general and specialized education and production training at the start of their labor careers would essentially suffice until they retired; any further enhancement of skills depended mainly on gaining practical experience in one's profession.

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, accompanied by a fast change in generations of machines and the doubling of knowledge within a short time, the situation changes radically. The range of professions and skills the practitioners of which, henceforth, cannot rely upon for the duration of their labor career, based on nothing but general and professional skills acquired at its start, is increasing. If workers were to limit themselves merely to such knowledge, considering the doubling of knowledge in any given field each 12 years, let us say, even a specialist with university training, who started work at age 23, would have no more than one-half at age 35, one-quarter at 47 and one-eighth at 59 of the professional skills he will need in that area. At a higher pace of accumulation and updating of knowledge, the initially acquired skill would depreciate even faster. Furthermore, many skills and professions could disappear altogether within the span of a single human generation.

In all likelihood, by the beginning of the next century, higher (or equivalent) training will become as common as secondary is today and forms of training highly skilled specialists, such as post-graduate and graduate studies, etc., will become as ordinary as higher specialized training is today. However, in order to make the professional skills of workers consistent with the technical level reached in the production process, we can no longer rely simply on traditional methods for extending basic vocational training: at best this would lead simply to a postponement by several years of the subsequent obsolescence of available knowledge. The forced accelerated retirement practiced today in a number of production sectors in the West is causing tremendous social and moral harm to the individual. In terms of society at large it turns into a waste of labor resources.

In the same way that the steady updating of materialized knowledge is most adequately embodied in flexible technology, the continuing process of accumulation of new live knowledge can be accomplished only with the help of flexible and malleable educational systems. In terms of materialized knowledge flexible technological systems make it possible to replace

generations of new equipment by steadily retooling and improving the equipment without totally replacing basic productive assets. In turn, flexible continuing education systems would enable the worker to maintain and upgrade his professional competence in throughout his labor career. Thanks to this, both elements of production forces--the material and the personal--will gain the necessary flexibility and ability to engage in continuing renovation with the fast accumulation of new scientific and technical knowledge. A flexible life-time educational system presumes the organic combination of a preliminary general and vocational training, preceding the start of a labor career, with a subsequent steady enhancement of worker skills and, if necessary, worker retraining on a full-time or on-the-job basis. Its purpose is dialectically to combine seemingly opposite requirements concerning the worker: maximal theoretical knowledge, which is the foundation of a scientific outlook, and maximal attainable vocational skills in a specific area, on the level of virtuosity. Such an educational system not only thoroughly exposes the individual to the state of the art but also develops within him the ability steadily to acquire new knowledge and to master information; he develops a receptive attitude toward socioeconomic and scientific and technical novelties and a creative attitude toward labor.

This flexible educational system is the foundation of the school reform under way in the USSR and the initiated restructuring of higher education. The purpose of both is to make the level of general and professional training consistent with the requirements of scientific and technical progress. We should bear in mind in this case that not even the most advanced formal education can train a fully skilled specialist consistent with the level of contemporary knowledge unless paralleled by a process of self-education, the role of which will increase in the future.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress objectively includes a categorical social imperative--live knowledge must outstrip material knowledge in its development. This becomes quite obvious from the following extrapolation of contemporary trends in the development of production forces: In the mid 1980s the growing generation, the overwhelming majority of whom will be working until the year 2025, are starting their active labor careers. During these 40 years, even assuming that the current pace of scientific and technical progress remains unchanged, inevitably there will be at least several periods during which knowledge will double and a change of several generations of technical equipment. Such processes will affect an incomparably broader range of skills and specialties compared with the past. Even if we were to adopt a conservative viewpoint, according to which it takes about 20 years on an average from the time that a scientific discovery has been made to the mass application of its results, we should expect that a number of technological systems at the beginning of the 21st century will be not simply new generations of previously developed equipment but also of an unprecedented and unpredictable nature from the viewpoint of the present generation of scientists and inventors, for they will be based on as yet unknown scientific discoveries. Hence the conclusion that under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution a skilled specialist must be able to interact professionally not only on the level of the current equipment but also potentially able efficiently to deal with future

generations of equipment. In order to accomplish this, he must as of now develop a solid background of general theoretical and specialized knowledge.

Naturally, in its individual aspect live knowledge has always outstripped materialized knowledge for the reason alone that before assuming a tangible form, it appears in the minds of individual scientists, inventors and designers as innovative ideas. In this respect, scientific and technical progress invariably originates in the minds of outstanding scientists and inventors. Subsequently, however, it develops into a social process, thanks to the mass practical application and dissemination of new knowledge. It is precisely this social aspect that is considered whenever it becomes a question of the need to develop live as against materialized knowledge in socioeconomic activities.

Actually, the faster development of the subjective element of productive forces in terms of material elements is dictated by more than merely forecasting considerations. It is also of most immediate practical significance as of now, for it enables us to make most efficient use of the existing equipment and to determine all of its possibilities and potentials. The highly skilled and gifted specialist, for example, can extract even from a third-generation computer more useful scientific and technical information than his mediocre colleague could from a fourth-generation computer. This applies to any type of equipment. The faster development of live compared to materialized knowledge is, consequently, the most powerful incentive in the development of social production forces and the further acceleration of scientific and technical progress. This faster development reveals particularly convincingly the growing role of the human factor in the course of the scientific and technical revolution.

Conversely, any lagging of live knowledge behind materialized knowledge limits the possibility of making full use of contemporary equipment and slows down scientific and technical progress. Furthermore, such a lagging, should it become substantial, threatens the technological alienation of direct producers from the level reached in technological progress. The press in the socialist countries has pointed out that the use of new generations of equipment at many enterprises has failed to yield the expected results due to the professional and psychological unpreparedness of the workers and that the use of robots has occasionally triggered their hostility and has been opposed by the technical personnel. "Contemporary production is oriented toward an initiative-minded worker, highly organized, disciplined, educated, master of an essentially new type of technological knowledge," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out. "He must be professionally and psychologically prepared for the fast renovation of material and technical facilities. Already now in frequent cases the latest automated lines, robots, and machines with numerical programming are used inefficiently as a result of the insufficient skill of the workers and engineering and technical cadres. Meanwhile, the amount of the latest equipment being installed in the national economy will be growing rapidly."

The faster development of live knowledge presumes that each new generation of people must have a higher level of general and specialized training at the start of their labor careers compared to the preceding generation. At the very first preliminary stage in the continuing educational system the entirely



real need appears of mastering the type of knowledge the need for which so far has been restricted to a relatively narrow range of subjects but which, in the course of time, will become virtually ubiquitous. This applies, above all, to mastering a "second" or electronic knowledge which, naturally, is not reduced merely to speculative concepts on the design and functioning of computers but mandatorily includes the practical skill of working with them.

The urgent social need for a "second" electronic knowledge makes it necessary to reformulate and reinterpret the problem of knowledge in general. It is becoming increasingly obvious today that the concept of knowledge cannot be reduced at all to a few formal features; in terms of its social content it is functional, comprehensive and specifically historical. Formal and functional knowledge, as understood today, have by no means coincided throughout history. Knowledge, even basic knowledge, as Finnish scientist Pekka Kuusi has pointed out, means man's ability to obtain, process and apply information needed for his efficient practical activities in a given society (see P. Kuusi, "This World of Man," Oxford-New York, 1985, p 61).

That is why the revelation, based on public opinion surveys and sociological studies, of the regrettable fact that the economically and culturally advanced Western countries (with their almost universal literacy in the traditional formal sense) have tens of millions of functional illiterates, who are virtually unable to acquire, process and use basic information needed by modern society, became a truly sobering "discovery." Thus, depending on criteria in defining literacy, today there are between 18 and 64 million functional illiterates in the United States and their number is growing for, as American futurologist J. Naisbitt writes, "The generation which is currently graduating from secondary schools is the first generation in American history whose skills are lower than those of their parents" (J. Naisbitt, "Megatrends." London, Sydney, 1984, p 31).

The present high level of formal population literacy should not be considered a firm and irreversible cultural accomplishment in a society, an accomplishment which must only be preserved in the future. Without the faster development of live knowledge and the mass mastery of a "second," electronic knowledge in the next 25 years, under the conditions of accelerated scientific and technical progress, as early as the start of the 21st century the share of functionally illiterate people in the West may outstrip the percentage of people who were unable to read and write 200 years ago, before the industrial revolution.

According to many bourgeois futurologists, the man of the future will be a parasite attached to increasingly advanced machinery: immediately after birth he will be cared for by an automated "baby incubator." He will then acquire basic knowledge with the help of automatic teaching machines. As an adult, his work will be limited to pressing a few buttons several hours weekly, spending the rest of the time in entertainment with the help of a variety of automatic games, and in his old age, once again, he will be entirely cared for by a variety of medical automatic machines. This extremely automated "technological paradise," with which the petit bourgeois in the West are being tempted, will, naturally, never come about.

Despite utopian concepts, the future does not belong in the least to the inflated philistine ideals of a "leisure time civilization," in which amateurs free from productive toil will spend their leisure time in each other's company or with automatic entertainment machines. The scientific and technical revolution is developing the type of society which, technologically, will be incomparably more complex than the present: demands concerning professional competence, social responsibility and the moral features of the worker will increase and the exchange of economic and other fruitful activities among people will become ever more intensive, widespread and comprehensive. In order successfully to function, such a society needs universally trained workers, virtuosos in their profession, possessing a broad scientific outlook. In the historical future, the shaping of such a universal worker coincides with the communist ideal of the comprehensively developed individual.

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## UNDER THE SHADE OF SUZDAL FOREST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 75-77

[Article by Vyacheslav Maksimovich Shugayev, writer]

[Text] A profound and slow discussion was quite impossible. Fellow-workers interrupted, bringing documents, the telephone rang, and there was his own calls to Vladimir. Finally, on this peaceful October day, we walked to the nearby pine forest, not far from Suzdal. Pine needles were wetly shining under our feet on the paths and abandoned logging roads. Heavy autumn silence surrounded us.

Something was bothering Yevseyenko: his silences and answers were irrelevant. I asked him what was the matter.

"I am going to Ivanovo tomorrow, to visit my mother in the hospital before her surgery...."

He thoughtfully continued:

"She was a spinner at a weaving factory for almost 40 years and her hands have become so accustomed to professional gestures that even in cooking or doing household chores, her fingers would suddenly begin to make spinning movements. When my father died she raised my brother and me and never looked at another man. She dedicated her entire life to raise us as decent people. It seems to me now that she fought every single day, proving that life is hard. My father drank and life with him was very hard. However, she never complained. She always tried limit this terrible addiction and to surmount this difficulty."

We stopped at the bank of a forest stream. Yellow birch leaves were floating down the black water: this autumn picture was clearly consistent with Anatoliy's mood. Unexpectedly, he spoke of something else:

"We keep reading now newspapers and journals. Many of them criticize, rightly so, our imperfections and losses. The press is describing so extensively our dissatisfaction with our recent way of life and today we are exposing so widely cases of dishonesty that the heart aches from all this and thirsts for balance and moral stability. I would push the newspaper aside and think of my mother. People like her, honest, tirelessly working, not only coped with

personal difficulties and burdens. By working conscientiously they were able to surmount, although not entirely, heaps of lies and dishonesty."

Yes, there are millions of working people in our country like Sofya Dmitriyevna. Every morning they go to their looms, forests and fields. Their work gives us an all-embracing feeling of hope, a feeling of moral purity. The picture of our daily morning activities never turns in my mind into some kind of foggy "mass" spot; I see specific, real people: a hunter along Nizhnaya Tunguska, a teacher in Irkutsk or a construction worker I know somewhere else in the Siberia that I cherish. I see their working days filled with dignity, and the pictures of the recent fictitious prosperity or success immediately fades away. The daily life of Sofya Dmitriyevna and millions of her fellow workers, in its endless decency and conscientiousness is, perhaps, the most profound aspect of our society today.

The life of Sofya Dmitriyevna, like other similar lives, is based on the firm grounds of the people's character.

In the forest we spoke of the law of surmounting difficulties, which dominates everyone. Someone concerned with personal problems cannot immediately understand how he can be more useful to society and the fatherland. But then this ignorance as well is surmounted and life goes on.

Yevseyenko spoke how on the threshold of what could be described as an easy life he faced the first and perhaps the most urgent need to control himself.

After his army service he was working at one of the middle-Russian forest areas. On New Year's Eve, Anatoliy was on duty along a forest road, seeing to it that Christmas trees would not be cut without a permit.

He had just sat on a stump, his fur gloves under him, when he saw among the trees three people hauling Christmas trees. He waited for them to come closer, came out from behind the trees and said: "Show me your papers, immediately."

In telling the story, Yevseyenko sighed:

"At that time I did not know that in no case one should be close to a stranger in a forest."

On this New Year's Eve, Yevseyenko was carrying what seemed an unnecessary weapon.

The threesome, naturally, had no intention of showing any documents or surrendering the trees. Sullenly staring at Anatoliy, silently the boys surrounded him. He could smell the alcohol in their breath. With the fearlessness of youth and desperate resolve, he grabbed the closest tree and sharply pulled it to himself. Encountering a strong and hostile resistance, he yelled at the boy with a big fat face, wearing a gray padded jacket. The latter grabbed his axe and swung at him. Anatoliy jumped back, lost his balance and fell. The boy in the gray jacket rushed him, axe in hand. Yevseyenko moved his right hand back and pressed on the trigger to fire a shot

in the air in the hope that the drunken idiots would come to their sense. He had not noticed that, with his fall the gun had moved and the muzzle was pressing against the side of the fat-faced boy. The shot rang and the latter fell down heavily. Throwing the trees away, his friends ran off. Momentarily paralyzed, Anatoliy sat in the snow drift, hatless, looking at the man's body on the snow. Before he could regain his senses, suddenly the boy stood up and, without a glance at him, walked in the direction of the city.

"I was summoned to the militia," Yevseyenko went on with his story. "It turns out that if you fire at a padded jacket, it slows the movement of the bullet. That is what saved the poacher. The shot had merely grazed the skin on his back. This was my salvation too. However, the boys were unable to extract the bullet. They had to go to a hospital which, naturally, immediately reported the event to the militia. The poachers were able to conspire and said that I had been drunk, had attacked them and threatened them with my weapon. All I could do was tell the simple truth."

"I shall never forget prosecutor Kudryavtsev, who believed me and who clarified the matter and dropped the case.... Without him, I would hardly have become a forester. Take me away from the forest and there is no life for me. What kind of life without a forest is there?"

Yevseyenko then moved to a large and rich hunting farm, where he frequently organized what he called "exalted hunts." High officials came to hunt, and for their sake elks and wild boar would be kept virtually tied up, and ducks would be raised off the waters by beaters.

These "exalted hunts" embittered the young Anatoliy. What right did such "hunters," drunk, infinitely confident of their right to order about other hunters and game wardens have? Anatoliy spent sleepless nights dreaming revenge, such as firing such people and taking their party cards away. However, such dreams remained nothing but dreams. This embittered Anatoliy and poisoned his life. What could a young beater do to such an "exalted hunter"? Perhaps he could have daringly told him the truth in his face. On the next day, however, he would have been fired (there had been such cases). Meanwhile, he had a wife and two sons, Lekha and Serega, to support.

"What to do!" To this day Yevseyenko's voice is angry. "I would get uptight and go into the forest to do my job: count the game, string ropes, mow hay. This was the only way to forget the high-handedness. Keeping busy is our main safety valve when things go wrong."

The portrait of this game warden of today consists of many dramatic and, sometimes, tragic features. This was the conclusion that Yevseyenko and I drew walking in this October forest. The sad requirement of participating in "exalted hunts," turning him into a go-for for various superiors hurt his civic dignity, intensified by the increased emotionality which is inherent in the profession of a game warden. As a rule, game wardens are people with artistic talent: they paint, sing, write poetry, or are gifted gardeners (incidentally, Yevseyenko composes good songs and is also a good gardener). One is amazed at the quality of a shelter he can build deep in the taiga, putting into it a great deal of thought and skill as a carpenter.

It is this artistic side that makes the game warden an easily wounded person, reacting particularly strongly and painfully to any injustice or abuse of power. At the same time, game wardens are great romantics. For a very small salary, poorly equipped, they zealously work at their favorite job, frequently joining in an uneven fight with well-armed impudent poachers with their motor boats, all-terrain vehicles or snowmobiles which allow them to escape if chased and avoid punishment. If caught by a game warden, the outcome could be tragic: the axe which was swung at the young Yevseyenko is still frequently part of dramas which are played out in the Russian forests.

What the game warden resents most of all, however, is when he is helpless to ensure that a poacher caught red-handed is punished. On one occasion, the chairman of the neighboring rayispolkom was caught poaching. Immediately afterwards, Anatoliy was harassed with telephone calls, exhortations, appeals to be reasonable or threats, all for the sake of dropping the charge. The wardens, angered by the chairman's behavior, sent a letter to the party obkom. Nevertheless, he was able to avoid punishment, and although transferred to another command position, he remained just as dishonest.

In such situations a certain moral dullness develops, which wounds the heart of an honest person. It is difficult to fight for order in the forest or, in general, in our life when people whose duty it is to serve this order with particular honesty and conscientiousness themselves violate it cynically. But how to remove this bitterness, how to surmount it? Obviously, only by tirelessly, honestly and stubbornly doing one's daily work. In the same way that Sofya Dmitriyevna protected Anatoliy and his brother from the trouble caused by their father and from need, and dealt with her early widowhood by finding in her job consolation, honor and true satisfaction and developing in her sons a proper outlook on life.

Recently Yevseyenko became the director of the Suzdal game farm, where for many years he had been chief game warden, had joined the party and then made secretary of the party organization. This was a natural progression leading to the director's chair and to the major responsibility for 77,000 hectares of forests, meadows, ponds and coastal lands.

Most of this area is covered by a forest in which one can neither travel by car nor by cart. There are no roads. This serves as a natural protection from wanderers or ill-intentioned people. The only road into the farm goes through the water "gate," bordered on the right and the left by man-made lakes, which, incidentally, owe their appearance to Yevseyenko.

In addition to organizing boar and elk hunts, and issuing fishing permits, the game wardens and hunters have cleared 22 plots for building gardening huts and lumber sawing. The output from the forest yields an annual profit of 100,000 rubles for the farm. Hunting, as such, brings no revenue.

The Suzdal game farm is allowed to develop the area architecturally, i.e., to harmonize architecturally the various fences, offices, lodges and hunting houses, all of them built in Suzdal style. Several observation towers have already been erected on cleared meadows.

Yevseyenko said:

"We received a plan for architectural development. This is something new and difficult and doing it will be quite interesting. There are problems, however which, although obvious, are not easy to solve. It has been said that the more obvious and simple a problem looks, the longer it takes to solve it. For example, how to make hunting profitable? I believe that, to begin with, the price of hunting permits should be raised. Currently it is incredibly and unexplainably low.

"Furthermore, foreign tourists must be invited to hunt. I know that some people object to this. Why sell out such amenities to foreigners while our own hunters would be left outside, licking their chops and, furthermore, feeling humiliated? This viewpoint, however, is obviously exaggerated. We could allow foreigners five to seven hunts a year for elk and as many for grouse and most of the year the farm would be at the disposal of local hunters. It is necessary and possible (it is quite simple) to collect stag antlers. They fetch a high price on the international market and substantial revenue could be earned from this without any particular outlays.

"I am quite concerned by the life of today's game wardens who must protect nature and the game for which they earn no more than 80 rubles. In order somehow to compensate for the small salary, the wardens procure timber. The hunter must also act as a lumberjack to earn a minimal salary. The wages of wardens and hunters must be raised if we want to see greater concern for forests and hunting. There is also a great deal of injustice in timber procurements. For example, workers come to our farm from southern kolkhozes to procure timber on the basis of contracts, and sometimes the kolkhozes pay them ten times the amount which we can pay to our own wardens for the same work. Such economic immorality should not be allowed."

Darkness had already fallen in the forest. It was only the sandy path which remained visible among the thickening darkness of shrubs and grasses. Yevseyenko fell into a long silence. Obviously, the evening and its vast and sad quiet had turned his thoughts back to tomorrow's trip to Ivanovo. "How is mother? What is happening to her?" Such thoughts frequently come to us when evening falls. Anatoliy has long worried about it.

I remember meeting his mother a few years ago. A big woman with a good, happy face, projecting natural affability. We had barely met when she began to ask me about my life and it was impossible not to respond to this affability, sincerely and openly, as though talking to an old friend.

Darkness had fallen when we finally reached the car. I told Anatoliy:

"Give my respects to Sofya Dmitriyevna. May she get well and keep fighting."

"Thank you. I shall tell her."

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## EMPLOYMENT: SCARCITY OR SURPLUS?

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 78-89

[Article by Vladimir Georgiyevich Kostakov, deputy director of the USSR Gosplan, deputy director of the Scientific Research Economics Institute, professor, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The discussion based on the article by Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya (KOMMUNIST, No 13, 1986) included the problem of labor resources and employment. We believe that this problem should be considered in greater detail since it is a question of the human factor in the development of the economy and the active participation of man himself in the restructuring process.

There is a widespread view (erroneous, we believe) according to which the relevance of the problem of labor resources in the country is caused by the "scarcity" of manpower. We should consider the very nature of this scarcity and also the broader problem of population employment under socialism. Clearly, the weak theoretical and practical work on problems such as interaction between demographic processes and employment, ensuring full employment under the conditions of social production intensification and drastic acceleration of the growth of labor productivity, and regional aspects of the utilization of labor resources under intensification conditions have substantially influenced views on manpower problems.

Let us consider these problems.

### Fictitious and Real Reasons

The first time that our economy encountered the so-called manpower scarcity, specialists and official documents ascribed to this problem a demographic interpretation (which was pointed out by A. Vishnevskiy in his article "The Human Factor in Its Demographic Dimension," KOMMUNIST, No 17, 1986). A simple superficial explanation appeared: the growth of the population had slowed down, the birthrate especially, as a result of which a manpower problem had appeared. However, this connection is not all that obvious. The potential number of working people depends, above all, on the number of people in the active age group. Its dynamics may substantially differ from that of the population as a whole.



Statistical data indicate that in the first half of the 1970s, when manpower scarcity became particularly obvious, the average annual increase of the population in the active-age group was higher compared with the 1960s by a factor of 2.4. It is noteworthy that in the 1960s or, more specifically, in their first half, when the increase in labor resources was even lesser (the demographic reflection of the war was being felt), quite unexpectedly an urgent problem arose of finding jobs for the population, which called for taking energetic and extensive steps to provide jobs for the people. New enterprises were built and operating ones expanded in small and medium-sized cities. This fact clearly proves that labor and demographic processes can sometimes move in precisely opposite directions.

The need for manpower for the national economy increased excessively in the 1970s. Under circumstances in which at the beginning of that period a high level of employment had been reached--nine-tenths of the country's labor force was either working or going to school--even a significant natural increase in the able-bodied population was simply not sufficient.

The situation in terms of social labor productivity worsened drastically. This indicator (national income per worker engaged in material production) averaged an annual increase of 6.4 percent in 1961-1970, 4.5 percent in 1971-1975, 3.3 percent in 1976-1980 and 3.1 percent in 1981-1985. Furthermore, taking into consideration the quality of output, which substantially worsened during that time, and the fact that large amounts of unmarketable consumer goods were being produced, the real situation was even worse.

Therefore, the concept of the demographic nature of the manpower problem has no substance, and the science of economics should be blamed above all for the very fact of its appearance. Initially, the economists were unable to explain the new conditions governing demographic development and utilization of labor resources. The main reason for the "long life" of the demographic interpretation of manpower problems was explained with the fact that it suited a number of people. The demographic factor is something objective and insurmountable and was frequently blamed for the scarcity of cadres (caused by the adverse demographic situation), individual errors and inability and, occasionally, even simply unwillingness to work efficiently.

Nevertheless, is there a so-called adverse demographic situation, which is still being frequently talked about? And if there is, what is its nature and how is it related to labor problems?

The sharp drop in the increase of the population in the active-age group is considered an extremely adverse aspect. It began at the end of the 1970s and will continue until the mid-1990s. We shall not engage here in a detailed consideration of this process. Let us merely note that in 15 years (1981-1995) the population in the active-age group will increase more slowly than it did within a single 5-year period, 1976-1980, during which, in turn, it was slower than in 1971-1975. This is the first time in its entire period of peaceful construction that the country is facing an unusually long decline. It is precisely this situation that is described as extremely adverse. The question, however, which arises is the following: What does the term adverse mean and from what point of view?

Is this something unexpected? It is not. Future developments of the population in the active-age group were well known as early as 15 years ago, based on the demographic projections regularly made by the USSR Central Statistical Administration together with the USSR Gosplan, starting with the end of the 1950s and beginning of 1960s. There was plenty of time to assess everything and to draw necessary conclusions on how to proceed and plan in order to prevent any scarcity. The current dynamics of manpower resources and the one expected through 1995 may turn out adverse only if the mass of working people in the national economy continues to grow as in the past, at the 1976-1985 rate, for example. In that case we shall indeed have manpower shortages.

However, according to data in the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development, in the next 15 years (1986-2000) public labor productivity will increase faster than the national income (respectively by a factor of 2.3-2.5 and 2). This is a new situation, which indicates that the number of workers engaged in material production not only will not increase but will decline by approximately 13-20 percent which, in terms of absolute figures, means that the total number of workers in this area of the national economy will range between 13 and 19 million people or roughly 16 million. This will be an unparalleled phenomenon in our economy. From this viewpoint the slowdown in the growth of manpower is extremely favorable, for this will eliminate to a great extent the difficult problem of employing the newly released workers.

Demographic estimates indicate that the lowered increase in the size of the active-age population will be largely the result of the increased number of retirement-age people. Another aspect, favorable from the economic viewpoint, is the fact that the structure of the active population in terms of sex will be equalized, having been attained at the beginning of this 5-year period (for a long time there were less men than women; today men account for more than one-half of the population). The significance of this type of positive change is hard to overestimate, for as a result of a disturbed normal ratio between the sexes, women had to replace men in many types of jobs, which was by no means always advantageous to them or to the national economy.

Therefore, in our view, the parameters of national population dynamics in the active-age group should be considered favorable in terms of the efficient utilization of manpower resources.

Nevertheless, negative aspects in the demographic situation--substantial at that--have existed for some time. Unfortunately, the situation itself was viewed essentially through the lens of manpower available to the national economy and attention was focused on the quantitative aspect of the matter: the size of the population in the active-age group. The social aspect was ignored. It was openly stated that we were "short" of people for the implementation of our plans. Meanwhile, the negative processes related above all to the life span, with their profound social roots, proving the existence of serious problems in the conditions and way of life and work were ignored by the public. It is only now that a wide range of specialists have been given the opportunity of analyzing what is taking place. The publication of corresponding data in statistical works has been resumed (see VESTNIK STATISTIKI, No 12, 1986).

Let us note the fact that negative aspects in demographic processes and adverse trends in labor productivity walked hand in hand. This was a reflection of one of the numerous interconnections between the use of manpower and demographic processes. We can firmly claim that the human factor in its "demographic dimension" has "worked" against labor efficiency for the past 15 years. In turn, the slowed-down growth of labor productivity adversely affected demographic processes, for it narrowed the possibility of solving social problems.

#### How Is Labor Used?

If we assess the present situation with labor resources, we should point out that we have no scarcity of manpower. Conversely, the national economy is oversaturated with such manpower because of the extremely inefficient use of labor in all sectors.

The level of labor intensiveness in most enterprises, establishments and organizations was hardly satisfactory in the past as well: in the last 15 years it declined substantially, we believe. Frequently, where one worker sufficed, combining several job functions and using every minute of the labor day intensively, our procedure (or, more accurately put, the rooted concepts of a normal labor regimen) made us use two or even three. Practical experience indicates that at enterprises which we purchase from foreign countries we employ substantially more people than specified, sometimes by several hundred percent. The lack of a first-rate job system results in the artificial creation of unnecessary jobs. Incidentally, it is precisely this that explains, more than anything else, why the principle of rewarding the people according to their labor contribution is so difficult to apply.

The situation can be changed for the better on the basis of high exigency toward the individual worker, strict labor discipline and elimination of surplus manpower. Occasionally, all we need is basic order. Efforts in this respect, made of late, contributed to a certain acceleration in the growth of labor productivity in 1985 and 1986. A psychological restructuring as well is needed so that the people may work intensively and with total dedication.

Another strong reason for manpower surpluses is the so-called sponsorship aid given to kolkhozes, sovkhoses, vegetable bases, etc. Drawing masses of people away from their main activities has inordinately increased over the past 15 years. In addition to economic losses, "sponsorship aid" is causing tremendous social harm, worsening the attitude of the people toward their own jobs. Manpower for agriculture, vegetable bases and other projects, needed for "peak" seasonal work, could and should be provided by other means, which would be both economically and socially justified. This entire work must be reorganized on a cost accounting basis. Those who need additional manpower should sign contracts with citizens but not with enterprises (as is occasionally suggested), for this would once again lead to the fact that the enterprises would have to hire additional personnel. It would be sensible to proceed from the fact that if wages are good (which would be economically justified) volunteers would be found--school seniors, university students, housewives, pensioners or even the employed population who may wish to earn an additional income in its spare time. At that point only actually needed

people would be hired rather than based on the principle of the more, the better.

The national economy employs a number of surplus workers because of unrhythmical enterprise work. The lack of rhythmical work at many industrial and construction projects makes it necessary, when the time to "rush" the plan comes, to have a manpower reserve, which would be totally unnecessary in a properly organized production structure and efficient material and technical procurement system. "Surplus" workers may be found in agriculture as well, considering the seasonal nature of their work. It may appear that nothing can be done in this case, for the natural factor cannot be ignored. Here as well, however, a known although as yet extremely rarely practiced system exists of how, while fully meeting the needs of agriculture for manpower, also make systematic use of the labor of the rural population: finding a sufficient number of other areas of employment both in addition to agriculture in rural areas and in nearby small and medium-sized towns (within an accessible commuting radius). This would create conditions for sensibly combining agrarian with other types of work. We are obviously lagging in this respect.

Employing "surplus" personnel in the national economy is largely related to the unsatisfactory quality of output. An entire "labor army" is engaged strictly in maintaining in proper condition and operational the fleet of machines and equipment. The state inspection of output, which was initiated experimentally at the end of last year in a number of enterprises, indicated that as much as one-half or even more items considered finished (from the enterprise's viewpoint) had to be rejected. Furthermore, we must not forget that industry has its technical control department, which numbers about 1 million people. Substantial losses have been incurred also as a result of poor storage, warehousing, transportation and other reasons, which is yet another channel for "surplus" manpower. For example, in agriculture alone, where 20 percent of the produce is lost every year, approximately 5 million people "work" at a loss.

These sources of manpower surpluses are related to old shortcomings in the economic management system. Sometime in the mid-1970s yet another source appeared and became increasingly important: the production of unsalable consumer goods or what was called "working for the warehouse."

The oversaturation of the national economy with manpower is neither universal nor absolute. It is a question merely of the quantitative aspect of the matter, of the fact that the manpower needed for the current volumes of output and services is entirely adequate. This does not exclude a real scarcity of cadres from the structural viewpoint (in some skills and developing territories).

A significant percentage of surplus workers can be quite easily withdrawn from the national economy in the very near future. This would require in some cases simply bringing basic order in the respective areas. Even a conservative assessment by this author indicates that such a surplus of personnel, lying on the very surface of the problem, totals no less than 10 million people (out of more than 130 million people employed in the national economy).

The wish to explain the scarcity in terms of demographic reasons or, in other words, the possible absolute scarcity of cadres in a planned system, greatly harmed the use of the manpower. This aspiration was oriented toward seeking additional as yet untapped sources for increasing the manpower employed in the national economy. That was the reason for which in the 1970s the number of working pensioners increased substantially. The problem of reducing the overall labor load carried by women was solved sluggishly. The efforts to "increase" the number of working people led to the appearance of a powerful factor which hindered mechanization and, as a consequence, the growth of labor productivity.

To this day the influence of the idea of "scarce" manpower is being felt and is causing harm. Some specialists, economic managers and planners still believe that the growth of labor productivity is important because of the "scarcity" of cadres. This does not lead to taking proper and energetic action but triggers the illusion that since there is a scarcity of people the surplus personnel will disappear by itself at the enterprises and the pace of labor productivity will increase. However, in this case automation does not work, as confirmed by reality. The situation concerning the use of manpower in the national economy is changing for the better very slowly. As in the past, enterprises are showing a strong tendency to keep people in reserve (which, incidentally, is encouraged by manpower "scarcity").

#### Attitude Toward Labor. Psychological and Economic Aspects

The misinterpretation of the nature of so-called manpower scarcity indicates the importance of enhancing scientific work on the interconnection between demographic processes and the utilization of labor resources. We must also comprehensively consider the circumstances which led to a drastic slowdown in the growth of public labor productivity for the past 15 years. Occasionally the attention is focused exclusively on the fact that technology had not been improved with sufficient energy, the updating of existing production facilities had fallen behind, there were high losses of working time and labor discipline was poor. In other words, the emphasis fell primarily on production factors and on the imperfect nature of the economic mechanism, which was related to the extreme lack of interest in working efficiently on all levels of the national economy.

In our view, as confirmed by the entire debate triggered by T.I. Zaslavskaya's article, the factors which stem directly from the worker and which determine his attitude toward labor and the performance of his obligations, remain relatively unstudied. The change of generations, improved education and the related higher level of development of the individual ascribe inordinate importance to the psychological factor which, for the time being, we are still mainly ignoring in our assessments of the condition of labor resources and, respectively, in defining our areas of action (there is a view, shared by this author, that by the end of the 20th century psychology will assume a leading place among all sciences. Its achievements and the ability to apply them in economic activities in production intensification will be as important as progress in technology and technological disciplines). Yet never before have end labor results so greatly depended on purely human traits as a work mood, total "commitment" and satisfaction with the moral environment at work.

Let us note some of the most essential aspects which explain, we believe, the reason for which the psychological factor has still not contributed to improving the situation.

We have lost and are losing a great deal from the fact that the person, who is justifiably considered the object of our social and economic development and the final target of all our plans, was considered in solving practical problems, mainly as a worker. Concern for man was actually replaced by concern for cadres. Although the concepts were similar they were by no means identical. Consequently, respect for the worker as an individual lessened. That was the reason for the great lagging in the development of the social infrastructure, aimed at easing and improving the life of the people. Obviously, this is largely related to the existence of all kinds of shortages which man faces in trying to fulfill his material and spiritual needs. Working conditions in many jobs are far from perfect. Wherever such jobs should be simply abolished, benefits and compensations are extensively used in an effort to recruit and keep workers. Ideological efforts are occasionally made for the same purpose. A clear example of this is the already customary appeals to "keep the young people" in agriculture, although it is a known fact that it is precisely there that manual labor prevails more than anywhere else (used by approximately 15 of slightly more than 20 million working people); it is a known fact that it is precisely in this area that our lag in terms of labor productivity is substantially higher than in the United States, for example; that in this sector it is particularly important to reorganize the production process, radically improving the content of labor and, in many cases, eliminating through mechanization jobs which modern generations are simply unwilling to take.

A typical present feature is the all-round "adaptation" of the production process to man and, if a decision is made to promote or not to promote a certain type of new equipment, one of the most important criteria should be the following: how convenient is the job, for the view of the person seen through the lens of the worker is also manifested in the fact that the worker himself is considered in our economic affairs as a kind of average "labor resource." Yet we can hope for high production results only if we see behind the workers men and women of different ages and with different capabilities. Obviously, the averaged approach prevails among equipment designers, oriented primarily at healthy and strong males between the ages of 25 and 40.

The sharp decline in the reputation of a number of professions on which successful socioeconomic development depends to a decisive and increasing extent--engineer, physician, teacher and other specialists with higher and secondary specialized training and, on a broader level, intellectual workers--has been justifiably noted. This decline is the result both of the loss of previous advantages in terms of wages of such categories, compared with other less skilled workers, as well as the fact that specialists are burdened with extraneous duties. Naturally, the attractiveness of the schools teaching such subjects diminished in the eyes of secondary school graduates. As a result, for quite some time the ranks of such specialists have been reinforced with unsuitable graduates lacking the necessary ability and vocation. The adverse situation in this area is already tangibly affecting in a negative way technical progress and the health and education of the population. Turning

this situation around quickly has become extremely pressing. Wages of specialists can be improved if two mandatory prerequisites are met: certification (not all specialists are able to perform the required functions) and streamlining the very nature of their work.

Speaking of the psychological aspects of labor productivity we must point out that they have become exceptionally topical as a result of the significant changes which have occurred in the age structure of the working people over the past 15 years. This is the result of a natural course of events. In 1985 about 60 percent of all people employed in the national economy were men and women born in the 1950s or later, who had not experienced the hardships of the war and postwar years. It is precisely their life style, job requirements and concepts of what is good and bad or desirable and undesirable that "make the weather" today in labor collectives and determine the "standards" which are gradually becoming mandatory for all. In 1970 members of this generation accounted for less than one-sixth of the total number of working people and the predominant group consisted of workers with incomparably more modest demands in terms of jobs and way of life. Today's generation, the young generation above all, is particularly sensitive to shortcomings in the organization of the work, the assignment of extraneous functions and all kinds of shortages or the lack of attention which is occasionally shown toward individual requirements. It sometimes appears as though the young are not prepared for the difficulties of life or for persistent and conscientious labor. However, along with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution a clear understanding is developing of the patterns and, above all, the profoundly progressive nature of youth orientations. Concepts concerning the type of logic on which a labor career is based are changing. The value of a worker has always been determined by his experience. Consequently, a reputation and the right to an interesting and independent work and a higher wage came to a person only in the course of time. Under current conditions this connection no longer applies. In most activities a novice may turn out to be as valuable as his experienced colleague thanks to the unwasted power of a young mind and greater ability to adapt to new tasks.

A complex problem which, nevertheless, demands an immediate solution is the following: making regulations governing wages, promotions, etc., consistent with this new reality. However, the attitude toward the young and the way we treat them are largely based on traditional concepts which appeared during the first years of industrialization. We believe that this is one of the essential reasons for the reduced interest which people have in the results of their labor, the weakening of discipline and other adverse phenomena.

#### Full Employment and Public Production Intensification

Until very recently full employment in our country seemed ensured by itself, with our economic and social development. Production increased not only as a result of higher productivity but (as we pointed out) also by increasing the number of working people. People were steadily needed in the nonproduction area as well although it absorbed less than one-half of the entire additional manpower. The total number of employed people increased also as a result of the shortened work week, increased length of paid leave, etc.

Implementing the course of intensification means that conditions for ensuring full population employment are changing radically. In the next 15 years (1986-2000) for the first time social labor productivity will be increasing much faster than the national income. It is precisely this that will lead to a condition unusual in terms of our economy, according to which manpower will be "thrown out." The scale of this process is indicated by the figures we already quoted. Naturally, new methods will become necessary to ensure the planned use of manpower. This will mean that no hitches must develop in releasing the workers. At the same time, this will successfully solve the other problem: full population employment. Under socialist conditions, both become powerful factors in increasing labor productivity: releasing workers eliminates an obstacle to such growth; full employment creates a favorable social background and gives the people confidence in the future.

We believe, however, that today in a number of economic, social or psychological aspects of our plans we are unprepared for decisive changes in the utilization of manpower. Consequently, nor are we ready for the drastic acceleration in the growth of labor productivity planned until the year 2000.

In our view, difficulties related to releasing manpower have been influencing for quite some time the increased manpower surplus in the national economy and have substantially hindered the growth of labor productivity. In the capitalist world, the word "release" is the virtual equivalent of unemployment. Obviously, this is the reason for which in our country efforts are being made to avoid the use of this term and, if used, it is applied only in the sense that a certain number of people have been released in a given production sector and assigned to other sectors within the same enterprise. Yet a "release" occurs only when the worker leaves the enterprise. The relevance of this problem will drastically increase the moment an enterprise is converted to a system of full cost accounting and self-financing. The logical consequence of this will be the closing down of enterprises which are unable to show a profit. Naturally, this will require a much more reliable definition of profitability than is the case today, when prices, payments to the budget, and so on, are sometimes quite at variance with socially accepted standards. It is equally clear that a decision to close down a losing enterprise will be neither automatic nor hasty. It must be made after a close and comprehensive study of the problem. Nevertheless, it is obvious that such decisions will be made. The question which will arise in this case will be the following: What happens to the labor collective of the enterprise, bearing in mind the need to observe the principles of a socialist society?

Numerous problems arise in this connection: The professional structure of the "released" workers and the demand for skills do not coincide as a rule; a lack of coincidence is possible also in terms of territory and time: Manpower may be released somewhere today and need for it may appear elsewhere, later. Finally, problems appear also because we are dealing with specific individuals who have their own views as to the specific type of jobs they prefer.

These are all complex problems. However, a planned economy enables us entirely, although not without some social difficulties, to satisfy both economic--the growth of labor productivity--as well as social interests--full population employment. This presumes the implementation of an entire set of



steps. The main among them, which fundamentally change the utilization of manpower, can be singled out.

It is important to provide manpower for the service industry, the development of which is quite promising and in which the number of people will be systematically increasing. We must substantially enhance the prestige of jobs in the service industry. This will largely depend on the material and technical facilities made available in this sphere. A great deal remains to be done in this connection, as stipulated in the Comprehensive Program For the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and Services Between 1986 and the Year 2000. It is important also to eliminate unjustified disparities in wages in this area compared with wages in material production (in the past 15 years alone the gap between them has more than doubled).

It will be expedient to improve the planned mechanism for the release and reassignment of manpower. Enterprise managers must be freed from concern for finding jobs for the people. This should be the job of specialized local labor authorities (the enterprises must be responsible for efficient employment, while full employment must be the concern of the state). The system for upgrading skills and retraining cadres must be substantially expanded and improved. A centralized fund (not including enterprises) for material support of people being retrained and reassigned must be set up within the framework of the wage fund on the level of the national economy.

Finally, vocational guidance must be improved. It is important to help not only young people who are starting their labor career to be helped in selecting a profession but also other working people, regardless of age, including the retired, who wish to work for the common good.

A need to eliminate social barriers in the growth of labor productivity also dictates a new approach to ensuring full employment. A frequent erroneous understanding of this concept is based on a misunderstood principle of the universality of labor under socialism, which means that labor alone can be a source of means of existence of any member of the socialist society. However, the participation of the literally entire population in labor for the good of society would mean "general" rather than "full" employment. There always is a certain percentage of people who, for objective reasons, cannot work, at least temporarily (students, women after giving birth, women raising large families and some others). In our view, it would be accurate to describe as full employment the type of situation in which the population's need for jobs is met. In the past the only way we knew of ensuring full employment was to increase the number of jobs. Today, in order to ensure production efficiency, another way is assuming prime significance, at least for most of the country: stabilizing and even reducing work in some areas of the national economy or entire sectors and reducing the need of the population for jobs. In this case substantial results could be achieved, for there is overemployment for some population categories, such as young people, women, particularly those raising small children, and the retired. This need may be reduced with a policy of assignments. At the present time more than one-third of all students (more than 4.5 million) attending higher and secondary specialized and vocational and technical schools are working their way through school. Obviously, increasing scholarships (if this implies reducing the gap between scholarships

and average wages, which has almost doubled in the past 25 years) would change the ratio in the vocational training of young people in favor of full-time education. The employment of women would be reduced by increasing aid and duration of maternity leave, and that of pensioners by increasing the amount of their pensions.

Much greater use should be made of a possibility of ensuring full employment, such as meeting the needs of a substantial segment of the population for jobs based on partial weekly or daily employment. However, this requires the creation of proper conditions, in which for the time being economic managers are not interested.

The successful solution of the employment problem will require a major restructuring of the individual mentality. It is considered natural today that if a job becomes unnecessary, the person must be immediately offered another job, a better one, in the same enterprise. The constitutional stipulation which guarantees to everyone the right to choose a job in accordance with personal preferences is inviolable. However, in making such a choice the individual must take more into consideration both his own real capabilities as well as the need of society. In this connection, many people must seriously review and revise their views and attitude toward various types of employment.

Perfecting this entire mechanism and normalizing the population's need for jobs would enhance individual responsibility and create conditions for people to care for their jobs.

#### Regional Aspects in the Utilization of Manpower

One of the main prerequisites for public production intensification presumes the accelerated growth of labor productivity everywhere, regardless of the extent to which manpower availability in a given area may or may not increase. This is noteworthy, for here as well the demographic approach to solving manpower problems appears: Wherever labor is scarce labor productivity must grow faster; wherever there is abundant manpower one could wait a little, for in this case finding jobs for the population becomes more important. It is hardly necessary to prove that such an interpretation of the growth of labor productivity and, even more so, pitting it against full employment, is erroneous. One of the most important stipulations of economic theory is that labor productivity is a source of accumulation and the higher its level the more assets are put at the disposal of society in order to maintain the balance between the availability of manpower and the need for it in the national economy and between demand for jobs by the population and their availability in the national economy.

It is precisely the slowdown in the growth of public labor productivity that led to a "scarcity" of manpower in the European part of the USSR, which determined the overall manpower situation in the country at large. In many other areas, in the republics of Central Asia above all, a substantial drop in the growth rates of productivity (in agriculture its level has been declining over a long period of time) was paralleled by an aggravation of the employment problem, particularly in Turkmenia, where for the past 15 years public labor

productivity has shown no increase at all. This is a specific example of the way an adverse situation with labor productivity makes, in the final account, ensuring full population employment more difficult.

Labor productivity will play its proper part in intensification only if, in addition to the general processes and trends characterizing the entire economy, we take fully into consideration the specific features of the utilization of manpower in the individual areas. These features are related, above all, to the position held by each territory in the all-union division of labor. In turn, the latter depends on the level of industrial development and the quality of the manpower (adaptability of the workers to different types of production). Demographic processes and national traditions also play a major role in this case.

As stipulated in the 5-year plan (1986-1990), the accelerated growth of labor productivity in the European part of the country, where scientific and technical and industrial potential is the highest and where skilled labor has been developed, will be based on the technical retooling of operating enterprises. This will release workers from material production, which will influence the all-union dynamics in some areas of employment. This situation will prevail in these parts of the country in the future as well; in order to make full use of available skilled labor, it would be proper, in our view, to specialize in the production of complex types of items while individual traditional production facilities based on imported agricultural materials should either be eliminated altogether or reduced substantially.

In the republics of Central Asia and other similar areas a faster growth of labor productivity could be achieved through fast industrial development. Essentially, intensification in this case means completing the process of industrialization. That is why the number of workers in industry, construction and the industrial infrastructure must continue to grow much faster than in the past, both as a result of building new enterprises and expanding existing ones. It is important to surmount the existing trend of duplicating the structure of industrial production as it exists throughout the Soviet Union or in individual republics which are leading in industrial development. Local managers try to build at all cost mainly "prestige" industrial facilities for technically complex types of output, although for the time being they find it extremely difficult to staff them with local skilled personnel.

Reality proves and the interests of production intensification and the country's social development demand extensive construction of food and light industry enterprises in these areas. Furthermore, existing conditions natural above all, provide the necessary facilities to this effect. For the time being, most of the cotton, wool and hides produced in these republics are processed elsewhere. This situation as well must be decisively changed. It is particularly in this case that organizing the work in two or three shifts would be helpful. These sectors are the ones preferred by the local population, particularly if the enterprises are small and located near rural areas. Industrialization, understood in these terms, would help to change the way of life of the native population and create a favorable base for training

skilled cadres and, as successes are achieved in this area, would allow the subsequent development of increasingly complex production facilities.

We are wary of suggestions calling for extensive transfers of "surplus" workers to other parts of the country, where manpower requirements are greater, for the sake of employment. People are not raw materials or equipment which could be moved from one place to another at someone's whim. The freedom of handling manpower resources is sharply limited by specific ways of life based on old national traditions. Related to them, for the time being, are insufficient mobility or ability to adapt to unaccustomed conditions. The local native population is unwilling to move from country to town even within its own republic. Therefore, mass transfers are not a thing of the immediate future.

Let us add to this the fact that under the conditions of overall intensification we need not simply workers but skilled workers, who are still in short supply in the Central Asian and other republics with similar labor conditions.

The steady and fast growth of labor productivity, which is the main prerequisite for solving manpower problems, demands of every one of us and all of us together to work more intensively. Higher labor returns, however, are not only the result of high conscientiousness and a responsible attitude toward the work on the part of every person. They also imply the creation of favorable conditions which would ensure both the efficient employment of the population as well as a drastic acceleration in the growth of labor productivity.

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## MAJOR EVENT IN THE LIFE OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS

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[Text] In the history of socialist Yugoslavia 1986 was marked by a number of major political events: congresses and conferences of party, trade union, youth and other mass organizations, and elections for representative authorities and self-governments on all levels. The most important among them was the 13th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which was held on 25-28 June. The congress summed up the activities of the party members between congresses, the marked mainly by problems of developing the country's economy, improving the political system and strengthening the party's ideological and organizational unity. The congress was attended by 1,742 delegates elected by nearly 2.2 million party members, and 533 guests (representatives of state and public organizations, party and war veterans and noted personalities in science and culture). The congress discussed the political report "LCY in the Struggle for the Further Development of Socialist, Self-Governing and Nonaligned Yugoslavia," delivered by V. Zarkovic, LCY Central Committee Presidium chairman, and the written reports on the work of the Central Committee and other leading party authorities; it approved nine resolutions on basic problems of LCY activities and amendments and supplements to the statutes of the LCY, and elected new leading party bodies.

The congress was preceded by an 8-month long party-wide discussion, in the course of which problems of upgrading the party's role and improving its ways and means of work, were discussed. In characterizing the results of the discussions, the Yugoslav comrades noted that they enhanced the activities of party members and all Yugoslav working people, proving their resolve to oppose phenomena of separatism and nationalism and antisocialist ideology; they strengthened their faith in the combat capability of the LCY and the possibility of deep changes in socioeconomic relations. The remarks and suggestions expressed in the course of the discussions were considered in the preparations for the congress and largely predetermined the critical and self-critical spirit of its work.

The successes achieved by Yugoslav society and the major problems and difficulties which have appeared in recent years must be taken into consideration in order to assess the place and significance of the 13th Congress in Yugoslav life.

In slightly more than 40 years after a people's regime was established, led by the Communist Party, the working people in the country achieved radical changes in the political, economic and cultural areas. Within a historically short time, from a backward outlying area in Europe, Yugoslavia became an industrial-agrarian state with a multisectorial economy. Significant results were attained in the development of production forces. During that period the gross national product increased by a factor of more than 7, averaging \$3,000 per capita. The volume of industrial output increased by a factor of almost 20 while agricultural output roughly tripled. The socialist sector is the base of the economy, accounting for 87 percent of the created national income.

Machine building, which was virtually nonexistent before the war, today meets three-quarters of the needs of the national economy for machines and equipment. Major agroindustrial combines have been created. The public sector accounts for about one half of the commodity output in agriculture. The population's socioeconomic structure has changed. The percentage of specialists with secondary and higher training has increased. A new, people's intelligentsia has developed. Economic achievements assured conditions for improving the well-being of the working people. The life span of the population has increased and medical services have improved.

A policy of equalizing the levels of economic and cultural development among republics and areas within the federation is pursued. Although relative disparities among them in terms of per capital public labor productivity have not diminished, many other indicators (labor productivity, consumption level, education, health care, cultural building, etc.) indicate a gradual narrowing of the gap.

Increased economic potential broadened the possibility of Yugoslav participation in the international division of labor. Currently Yugoslavia maintains trade and economic relations with 139 countries throughout the world. Economic and scientific and technical cooperation between Yugoslavia and the USSR which, for many years, has been socialist Yugoslavia's main foreign trade partner, is organized on a long-term and mutually profitable basis.

Until the beginning of the 1980s the Yugoslav national economy developed at a rather high pace. Major investments were made in productive capital. Toward the end of the 1970s, however, the Yugoslav economy began to experience difficulties owing, as LCY documents indicate, to both objective and subjective reasons. The basic indicators of the 1981-1985 plan were not met. The average annual growth rates of the public product could not reach even 1 percent and, in some periods, there was stagnation. Labor productivity in the public sector dropped by 8 percent. The average annual growth rates in agricultural production did not exceed 0.4 percent. Disintegration processes in the national economy intensified. Individual consumption outstripped the growth of labor productivity. A major foreign trade and balance of payments

deficit developed and foreign debts reached nearly \$19.8 billion; inflation became galloping. All of this affected the living standard of the working people, the working class in particular. The problem of employment, youth employment above all, became aggravated.

Let us point out that the crisis phenomena in the global capitalist economy which occurred in the 1970s--the increased cost of fuel and raw material resources above all--adversely affected the Yugoslav economy, which is closely tied to the world market. Furthermore, loans came due in the 1980s and conditions for foreign trade and for obtaining new loans worsened. This aggravated the reproduction process in the country.

As was noted in discussing Yugoslav economic problems, these negative phenomena were worsened by errors in structural and scientific and technical policy and inefficient utilization of foreign funds. The use of foreign licenses (about 230,000 of them were purchased from the West in the past 20 years but only 10 percent of these were used) made the production process dependent on importing fuels, raw materials, materials and spare parts for purchased equipment.

It was natural, therefore, that problems of economic and social policy assumed a key role at the 13th Congress. The working people expect of the LCY above all the formulation of efficient steps aimed at surmounting the major difficulties in the country's life.

According to the speaker, the main reasons for economic problems were the fact that the national economy continued to develop extensively. Society failed to create an efficient planning system based on the principles of self-government, as a result of which subjectivism and voluntarism, lack of control and anarchy became widespread and economic disproportions worsened.

As was pointed out at the congress, objective contradictions in the development of society were manifested in the fact that production relations fell behind the level reached by production forces. The loss of the previous motive force of the economic mechanism was manifested in the slowed-down pace of economic growth, stagnation and other negative phenomena.

Another factor which had an adverse effect on the country's economic development was the fact that because of the frequent abuse of consensus methods, public plans, particularly national ones, were formulated as a rule with delays and their implementation was frequently obstructed and even wrecked. That is why the law on reorganizing the planning system, aimed at strengthening the regulatory and coordinating role of the federation in this respect, which was passed even before the congress, is being ascribed such major significance.

Another new aspect is that of the unified plans for development of sectors of key significance to all republics--energy, transportation, mails, telegraph communications, etc.

The 13th Congress described the further implementation of the long-term program for economic stabilization, which was adopted by the Yugoslav

Skupstina in 1983, on the basis of the resolutions of the 12th LCY Congress, as the main way for improving the economy. The program calls for the implementation of a set of measures aimed at the intensification and increased efficiency of the national economy, higher labor productivity, elimination of structural disproportions on the basis of the maximal utilization of domestic material and labor resources, improving the country's financial system, closing down losing enterprises, strengthening labor discipline, restoring the foreign trade balance and repaying foreign loans. Therefore, it is a question of an economic policy based on tasks related above all to optimizing ratios between production and consumption and the maximal conservation of resources. The program will have two stages through the year 1990. The LCY continues to pay a great deal of attention to its implementation. In 1984-1986 implementation problems were discussed at several Central Committee plenums and Central Committee presidium meetings.

The 13th LCY Congress properly acknowledged the efforts which were made to solve the problems which had accumulated in the national economy. An improved foreign economic balance, normalizing domestic supplies with prime necessity goods and electric power and some changes which were made in the economic system were rated as the main positive changes which occurred between the congresses. At the same time, the delegates to the congress indicated the obstacles which hinder the implementation of the long-term program, referring above all to difficulties in coordinating the interests and views of republics, areas and individual enterprises in the course of making decisions applicable to the entire country, and the weakening of national economic ties. The unanimous view was expressed on the need to reorganize the national economy. However, differences appeared on the methods to be used. Some delegates favored fastest possible restructuring; others called for perfecting the management mechanism; others again put their hopes on strengthening planning; finally, some called for strengthening the regulatory functions of the market and market instruments by linking them to the self-governing mechanism. The delegates spoke out in favor of a firm rejection of voluntarism in the adoption of national economic decisions, emphasizing the importance of freeing the economy from the type of state control which restricts the effect of economic laws and narrows the economic independence of enterprises. In this connection, the delegates mentioned the need to take into consideration the effect of the law of value and other economic laws and to upgrade the role of material incentive. "The League of Communists," one of the resolutions reads, "supports the need for greater differences in individual incomes, for such differences reflect those between productive and unproductive toil, efficient and inefficient economic management and responsible and irresponsible activities."

The delegates emphasized that the struggle for economic stabilization remains the party's main task for the immediate future. It was pointed out, in this connection, that society must concentrate its efforts on strengthening economic consolidation, the dynamic growth of public production and higher labor productivity and the full utilization of all of the country's resources in the struggle for economic intensification.

In terms of the plan for Yugoslav socioeconomic development for 1986-1990, it was pointed out at the congress that it calls not only for the elimination of



crisis phenomena but also for attaining relatively high rates of economic growth and implementing a broad social program. The average annual growth of the public product will be raised by 4 percent, industrial output by 4.5 percent and agricultural production by 5 percent. The struggle against inflation remains a priority task.

The initiated restructuring of the national economy calls for a modern level of labor organization and technology and for changes in investment and structural policies. Given the present limited nature of accumulations, it was deemed expedient to concentrate capital investments primarily in the reconstruction and updating of already operating enterprises. Structural policy tasks were reformulated. In accordance with the strategy of intensification, the decision was made to give priority to development programs which would yield maximal results in achieving objectives, regardless of the type of production, sector or area. Based on available skilled manpower, the center of gravity will be shifted from capital- and energy-intensive sectors to technologically progressive and labor intensive ones.

The 13th Congress emphasized the importance of stimulating the accelerated development of economic sectors with a clearly manifested orientation toward exports, in order to earn currency with which to repay foreign debts. Loans and credits will be channeled primarily into technological reconstruction and retooling of enterprises producing commodities and services oriented toward the foreign market and toward obtaining maximal economic results.

The party congress concentrated on the fastest possible elaboration of a strategy of scientific and technological development for the entire country. It was noted, in particular, that the entire system of organization of scientific and technical activities is lagging behind the vital needs of society. In this connection, the need was mentioned to review the foundations of scientific and technical policy and to abandon the previous "imitation" concept in relying on domestic forces and to strengthen and increase further the national research potential.

The congress described social policy, which includes a decisive struggle for the soonest possible elimination of social disparities within the society, the elimination of corruption and speculation, and the prevention of the theft of public property as among the most essential factors in the country's material and social progress. Unemployment was classified among the most severe socioeconomic problems of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav communists consider that the path to full employment is essentially one of developing the public sector in the national economy, the labor-intensive sectors in particular. They also call for increasing the use of labor in the private sector and in the "petty economy," which means a network of small private and public enterprises, which would cooperate with larger enterprises and would perform production or service functions. Furthermore, perfecting the system of cadre training, and the retraining of individuals looking for jobs is also contemplated.

The congress defined as one of the strategic objectives of society the accelerated development of the agroindustrial complex, which combines not only large-scale socialist but also petty-commodity private production. The respective part in the resolution emphasizes the importance of the use of all

resources and reserves of the country's agriculture. Ensuring favorable conditions for increased agricultural production and, particularly, exports, is related to the dynamic development of socialist and private farms. Great importance is ascribed to the economic, social and cultural development of the countryside. One of its purpose is to curb the excessive migration of manpower to the cities.

Problems of the development of socialist democracy were actively discussed at the congress. As we know, a political organization of society and economic life based on self-government was developed in Yugoslavia. In particular, this applies to the delegate system according to which the working people in production collectives, local associations and sociopolitical organizations elect delegations some of whose members then become elected power bodies. The purpose of the system is to provide conditions for the broader and more direct participation of the working people in the administration of social affairs. In order to increase the influence of workers on decision-making in all areas of production activities and to increase their interest in the results of their work (in particular through their participation in income distribution), primary joint labor organizations (OOOT) were set up on the basis of economic enterprises, with their own agencies of workers self-governments and economic administrations (according to the Yugoslav Constitution and the Law on Joint Labor, the following have been assigned to the basic joint labor organizations (the OOOT): the capital and working assets of enterprises which they manage; they are self-governing cost accounting subdivisions which act as autonomous economic organizations; OOOTs may be set up by the larger associations).

The 13th Congress made a thorough study of the work of the socialist self-government system, noting its extensive opportunities. It was pointed out that its viability proves that economic difficulties did not trigger political and social upheavals.

Nevertheless, a number of delegates mentioned some elements of stagnation in the self-governing system and the need to upgrade its efficiency. "Socialist self-government," said B. Soskic, the noted economist and state leader, "is being tested as an economic and social system by its own working class and, as a possible alternative of development, by history as well."

Nationalistic trends, which V. Zarkovic described as the most dangerous "of all forces currently operating on a counterrevolutionary basis," became a topic of frank and principle-minded discussion at the party congress. The corrupting nature of nationalism in Yugoslavia was illustrated by the speaker with the events which occurred in Kosovo in 1981. The special resolution passed by the congress stipulated that the situation which has developed in recent years in that autonomous region "remains one of the most difficult political, moral and socioeconomic problems of Yugoslav society...." For that reason the LCY called for waging a decisive and systematic struggle against increasingly frequent nationalist manifestations and for strengthening the fraternity and unity and equality among nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia. The congress made it incumbent upon the party members and all organized socialist forces in society fully to neutralize nationalism, naming the observance of the rights and freedoms of the entire population, regardless of national origin, the prime and urgent task in this area.

It was also pointed out that the LCY policy which calls for the accelerated development of the less developed republics and the Kosovo Autonomous Region is not being implemented systematically, as well as the fact that the lack of coordination within the Yugoslav economy is becoming today an increasing obstacle to the growth of production forces and is a reason for the country's economic lagging. "There can be no strong Yugoslavia with a weak federation," the congress noted.

The party forum called for increased concentration of assets on the basis of joint programs for specialization among organizations in different republics and for utilizing the assets of the foundation for crediting the accelerated development of lesser republics in encouraging integration.

In accordance with these problems, the congress deemed expedient amendments and supplements to individual parts of the Yugoslav Constitution and of republic and regional constitutions, and the Law on United Labor, emphasizing that there are no reasons for changing the foundations of the political system but that it was necessary to eliminate weaknesses in its functioning by improving it and completing the building of its individual institutions and units.

Whatever aspects of Yugoslav life the congress' delegates discussed, their attention was concentrated on the activities of the LCY. Successes and shortcomings in social development were directly related to the role played by the party and its organizations at the present stage in building socialism. Although the LCY remains the leading force of society, major organizational and ideological weaknesses are appearing in its activities, as was pointed out at the congress, are adversely affecting the party's reputation. Shortcomings in LCY work were exposed. According to the Yugoslav communists, they are caused by disparities between words and actions and the lack of necessary ideological unity. The delegates spoke with concern about disparities between programmatic strategic concepts and practices and the fact that many party organizations continue to approach the solution of important political and economic problems from parochial positions. "The prestige and influence of the LCY," the political report emphasizes, "is proportional to the extent to which it expresses in its ideological and political activities the interests of the working class. This statement is particularly topical today....for a discontent with the existing situation is noted in the working class.... The working class is also dissatisfied with inertness, indecisiveness and lack of unity among the LCY, the trade unions and other organizations in the struggle for the elimination of negative phenomena." The congress expressed its firm belief that the working class is ready to surmount all difficulties and trials on the way to socialist change and demand of the party members to strengthen the party's ideological and organizational unity as a prerequisite for success in the struggle for the historical objectives of the revolution.

The 13th LCY Congress strengthened the line of further democratization of intraparty life and the open and responsible discussion of all critical remarks, wishes and suggestions. To this effect an item was added to the party statutes, stipulating that all party bodies must promote discussions in primary party organizations prior to making decisions on important social problems.

The Yugoslav communists sharply raised the question of intensifying the uncompromising struggle against alien, antisocialist and nationalist forces and views. It was emphasized that their bearers, profiting from the difficulties experienced by the country, are trying to compromise the LCY and the socialist self-governing system, to develop an atmosphere of ideological and political chaos and instill in the people lack of confidence in the future. Relying on the support of international reaction, they are tirelessly attacking the foundations of socialism and denying the gains achieved by the working class and all working people.

The congress pointed out that the ideological and organizational unity of the LCY is the most correct and reliable protection against the penetration in its ranks of an antisocialist ideology and the dissemination within the LCY of bureaucratism and factionalism.

In addition to other problems, the delegates considered that of improving the social and class structure of the LCY as a major factor in strengthening its vanguard role. It was pointed out that a process of democratization of cadre policy is being persistently implemented. The LCY is fighting against reducing it to a simple deployment of cadres. It tries decisively to limit political professionalism and cadre transfers within a closed circle.

The LCY has charted a steady course toward the rejuvenation of its ranks and the active involvement of young people in the activities of the LCY and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, the trade unions and the other sociopolitical organizations by promoting active and creative people to responsible positions. The delegates to the 13th Congress firmly spoke out in favor of further strengthening the leading role of the LCY and the ideological and organizational unity within its ranks, and ensuring the strict observance of the principle of democratic centralism.

Some amendments, supplements and changes were made in the LCY statutes, aimed at solving topical problems of intraparty life. Thus, in order to eliminate negative phenomena which undermine party integrity, the status of the leagues of republics and krays was refined. Although remaining equal and independent organizations, they are also part of the single LCY. The current party code stipulates that their autonomy is expressed "in their equal status, rights and obligations in their active and creative participation in implementing the unified policy of the LCY."

In the interest of strengthening party unity and upgrading its efficiency, it was decided that in the large joint labor organizations and in ordinary labor and local organizations numbering several primary party organizations, permanent leading party bodies (conferences) would be elected to coordinate the entire work. Their decisions will be mandatory to party members and primary party organizations.

Statutory amendments dealt with many other organizational problems as well. For example, henceforth the LCY Congress will elect members of the Central Committee and other LCY authorities by secret vote. Previously such voting was done at republic congresses and area conferences, while the LCY Congress

merely ratified the elections. The LCY has now been given the right to assess the work of the Central Committees of republic and regional LC committees.

The delegates to the 13th Congress noted the importance and relevance of the work of party members in youth upbringing. The resolution on this item stipulates that the active involvement of young people in social life depends on the LCY. A special task is assigned to the young party members in working with young people. The congress paid great attention to the ideological upbringing and cultural development of the young generation and to the role of the youth press. Also discussed was the question of the need to restructure the work of the League of Socialist Youth with a view to enhancing its authority.

The 13th LCY Congress confirmed Yugoslavia's support of the policy of nonalignment as the country's long-term foreign policy. As one of the initiators and active participants in the nonaligned movement as an independent global factor in international relations, socialist Yugoslavia is making a noticeable contribution to the struggle waged by the peoples for peace and social progress.

The resolution of the congress emphasizes that the LCY considers the struggle for peace and prevention of nuclear war the most important problem of our time and that peace and international cooperation are the main prerequisite not only for the development of mankind but for its very existence. Together with other progressive and democratic forces the document stipulates, the LCY will actively encourage improvements in the international situation, reciprocal understanding among nations, and peaceful solution of disputes; it will support a world without wars and the use of all creative potential in the interest of progress.

"We," V. Zarkovic said, "welcomed the resumption of the dialogue between the USSR and the United States and link to it the hope of a future return to detente."

As the political report noted "continuing the arms race and spreading it to outer space, which is favored by the ruling circles and military-industrial complex in the United States and some Western European countries, contain the danger that it could become uncontrolled." The United States was criticized also for abandoning Salt-2, the aggression against Libya and the financing of the Nicaraguan Contras.

The congress spoke out in favor of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the nonaligned countries. Great attention was paid to the conference of heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries which was held in Harare and which Yugoslavia considers a new step on the way to solving specific political and economic problems of the contemporary world. The congress' resolution indicated the permanent significance of maintaining closest possible cooperation with the developing countries and the need for talks between them and the highly developed lending countries and noted the importance of the activities of the "Group of 77."

The party forum also emphasized Yugoslavia's aspiration to maintain stable and comprehensive relations with neighboring countries and to make the Balkans a zone of peace and cooperation, free from nuclear weapons.

As confirmed at the congress, Yugoslavia continues to ascribe great importance to the development of comprehensive friendly relations with the socialist countries, particularly in the area of economic and scientific and technical interaction.

Yugoslav-Soviet relations play an important part in such ties. A political dialogue is being pursued between these two countries and views are being exchanged on all levels. Long experience in this area proved that the fundamental principles asserted in jointly adopted documents create reliable conditions for the further development of fruitful bilateral relations and for raising them to a qualitatively new level. Economic cooperation plays an important role. The interaction between the CPSU and the LCY, based on common class interests and the fraternal friendship between the peoples of the two countries, with its deep roots and traditions, are a guarantee for the intensification of Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

The official state visit which a delegation of the LCY, headed by LCY Central Committee Presidium chairman M. Renovica, paid to the USSR in December 1986 and the talks held with the CPSU delegation, headed by M.S. Gorbachev, became an important landmark in the further strengthening and development of Soviet-Yugoslav friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the CPSU and the LCY and the USSR and Yugoslavia in the interest of the peoples of both countries and the cause of peace and socialism. The joint resolve to enrich bilateral relations with new contents and forms, on the basis of jointly defined principles and experience, and to continue to strengthen the atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust between the two parties and countries, as well as a respectful attitude toward reciprocal interests and experience, was expressed in the course of the talks.

The 13th LCY Congress was a most important political event in the country's life. Its basic decisions and the political line it drafted, which reflected the specific features of Yugoslav development, were aimed above all at improving and renovating the society and its further democratization through the development of socialist self-government by the people, the acceleration of socioeconomic and scientific and technical progress and the development of the struggle for peace and against the threat of nuclear war.

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## BCP THEORETICAL ORGAN

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[Review by Boris Semenovitch Arkhipov, responsible secretary of KOMMUNIST, candidate of historical sciences, of the journal NOVO VREME, on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of its first issue]

[Text] Publication of NOVO VREME, the theoretical journal of the Bulgarian Communist Party, began 90 years ago. Its first issue came out in January 1897, in Plovdiv. Initially, it was subtitled "Monthly Review of Intellectual and Social Life." In 1903 it became the scientific theoretical organ of the Bulgarian Worker's Social Democratic Party (left-wing socialists); after the party was renamed in 1919, it became the scientific theoretical organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party (left-wing socialists).

Regular publications of the journal were interrupted on three occasions: during the Balkan War (September 1912 - September 1913), World War I (January 1916 - July 1919) and from September 1923 on, after a monarcho-fascist dictatorship was established in Bulgaria. Its heir was the journal KOMUNISTICHESKO ZNAME, which was published for several years abroad and clandestinely distributed in Bulgaria.

After the victory of the 9 September 1944 revolution, starting with January 1945, for 2 years the journal was published twice monthly under the title SUVREMENNİK. The publication of NOVO VREME, as the party's theoretical organ, was resumed in January 1947. NOVO VREME is one of the oldest Marxist journals. Its publication is inseparably linked to the history of the development of Marxist thought and the revolutionary worker's movement in Bulgarian and the history of building socialism in the NRB. Created on the initiative of Dimitur Blagoev, the founder of the Bulgarian Worker's Social Democratic Party, initially it was financed with Blagoev's private funds. It was only in 1905 that the BRSDP (narrow socialist) Central Committee took over the distribution of the journal.

NOVO VREME played an outstanding role in creating a Marxist vanguard in the Bulgarian working class, and its establishment and shaping as one of the active detachments of the global revolutionary movement. The journal dedicated itself to the dissemination of the most humanistic ideology-- Marxism-- and to its creative development under Bulgarian conditions. It was

thus that NOVO VREME helped to develop in the Party members high moral and political qualities, such as a class intolerance of the enemies of the revolutionary movement, and inflexible loyalty to the interests of the working class and to proletarian internationalism. It engaged in a passionate and systematic struggle against any and all efforts to revise Marxism-Leninism and against ideological trends such as populism, the obshtedeltsi (an opportunistic trend in the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party, named after their journal OBSHTO DELO ("Common Cause")). In 1903 the obshtedeltsi became the party of right-wing socialists) and anarchism, which obstructed the Bulgarian revolutionary movement.

Contributors to the journal included outstanding party personalities, such as Dimitur Blagoev, Georgi Kirkov, Gavril Georgiev, Khristo Kabakchiev, Todor Petrov, Petur Genov, Georgi Dimitrov, Vasil Kolarov, Todor Pavlov, Todor Zhivkov and others. It published theoretical and political articles by the party's founders and builders, which helped the Bulgarian toiling masses to study Marxism-Leninism and the principles governing the structure and activities of a party of a new type.

Dimitur Blagoev, the permanent manager of the journal for 23 years, alone wrote about 500 articles, chronicles and critical remarks and reviews in the journal. All of his works are distinguished by their political sharpness and scientific theoretical depth. They are of a clearly manifested combative and militant dialectical-materialistic nature. Creatively studying specific economic and political circumstances in Bulgaria and their future, Blagoev determined the inevitable nature of the capitalist development in the country and proved that Bulgaria has grounds for socialism. Under the conditions of the domination of petty ownership in the country, this was a daring and profound scientific forecast.

Blagoev's studies in the areas of philosophy, sociology, political economy and politics led to the writing of brilliant works, many of which were published in NOVO VREME. They sharply criticize Bernstein's theory of class peace and class cooperation and the obshtedeltsi, his Bulgarian followers. In the struggle against them Blagoev defended the Marxist theory of irreconcilable class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the outcome of which he saw as a social coup d'etat and the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Later, after the Great October Socialist Revolution, converting to Leninist positions on basic problems of the class struggle, in his outstanding article "Dictatorship or Democracy," published in NOVO VREME (No 1, 1919), Blagoev exposed the hostile attitude adopted by Karl Kautsky toward the October Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and criticized his opportunistic idea of a peaceful parliamentary way to power as treacherous and harmful to the proletariat under the then prevailing circumstances.

In the course of their uncompromising struggle against efforts to belittle the significance of theory and allow the labor movement to develop without control, Dimitur Blagoev and his fellow workers substantiated the need for shaping in the workers a socialist awareness. They explained to them Marxist theory as the only systematic revolutionary theory which showed the right way



to economic and social liberation. For example, in his articles "What Is Taking Place Within the Party?" and "What is Occurring in Our Ranks?," which were published in NOVO VREME (No 3, 1903), Georgi Kirkov firmly called for purging the BRSDP from the Obshtedeltsi who, for many years, had corrupted the minds of workers and party members with their opportunism. In his articles "Argument Within the Party" and "Tasks of the Social Democratic Party" (January and February 1903) Gavril Georgiev drew the conclusion that differences between revolutionary Marxists, headed by Dimitur Blagoev, and Obshtedeltsi, headed by Yanko Sakuzov, should not end in reconciliation. "If there are problems which are of the greatest interest to the party" G. Georgiev wrote, "they are theoretical problems and, consequently, so are arguments on their subject.... The party becomes stronger and its foundations firmer the more profoundly its members master and clearly understand theory." It on the basis of such theoretical clarity and principle-mindedness that he called upon the healthy forces in the party to unite and separate themselves from the Obshtedeltsi and other revisionists organizationally as well by expelling them from the ranks of the BRSDP.

During World War I, NOVO VREME published a number of articles by Dimitur Blagoev and his fellow workers, in favor of proletarian internationalism as the basic principle of party activities and as the party's supreme duty to its own people and to mankind. They separated themselves from the opportunistic position assumed by G.V. Plekhanov, whom they considered their teacher, and condemned the treachery and social chauvinism of the leadership of the Second International. It was precisely for this reason that V.I. Lenin described the Bulgarian "left-wing socialists" as true internationalists. Under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the "leftist" party, headed by Blagoev, was one of the constituent parties of the Third Communist International, which was founded in 1919. That same year it became the Bulgarian Communist Party (left-wing socialists). However, the "leftists" did not immediately become a party of a Leninist type. At that time they had still not understood or creatively reworked, in terms of the specific conditions of their own country, the most important stipulations of the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution. The "leftists" wrong tactics resulted in the adoption of an erroneous position during the 1918 Vladaya uprising and at the time of the 9 June 1923 fascist coup, during which the party adopted a so-called neutral position.

Blagoev openly acknowledged and condemned this "leftist" error. He unconditionally approved the Central Committee's resolution on the September 1923 uprising. This greatly facilitated the process of bolshevization of the BCP, and its mastery of the Leninist experience. After Blagoev's death (1924) the struggle for bolshevization of the BCP was headed by his best students and fellow workers, led by Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov.

This struggle was obstructed by the left-sectarian faction which, subsequent to the defeat of the September uprising, had seized the party's leadership, weakened as the result of the forced exile of its most noted and prestigious leaders. In the course of several Central Committee plenums, at the Moscow 1925 conference and the Second Clandestine Party Conference, which was held in Berlin, (1927 - 1928), G. Dimitrov and V. Kolarov sharply raised the question of the struggle both against left-wing and right-wing deviations in the party.

KOMUNISTICHESKO ZNAME, the party's theoretical organ published abroad, edited by Vasil Kolarov between 1926 and 1929, published a number of profound articles on such problems. For example, in his article "The Bolshevizing of Communist Parties in the Balkan Countries" (No 1-2, 1926), Kolarov formulated this task ideologically, politically and organizationally, substantiating the need for it primarily in the ideological area.

Dimitrov and Kolarov played an outstanding role in routing of the left-sectarian BCP faction and in bolshevizing the party which, Bulgarian historians believe, was completed by 1940, with the organization of the armed struggle waged by the Bulgarian people against monarcho-fascism and Hitlerism in 1941-1944, the victory of the 9 September 1944 uprising and, subsequently, the definition of the general line and the ways and means of building a socialist society in the country.

In Blagoev's traditions, immediately after its resumption (1947) NOVO VREME assumed a leading position in the ideological struggle. New tasks arose under the new historical circumstances: the further development and intensification of the socialist revolution and the building of a new society.

The journal provided specific theoretical and practical-political developments to the ideas of Georgi Dimitrov on the nature, tasks and future of the people's democratic system. The journal steadily covered the trends and forms of the class struggle during the transitional period, bringing to light the leading, guiding and revolutionary-transforming role of the Communist Party in the reorganization of society on a socialist basis.

The 5th BCP Congress (1948) was of tremendous importance in the development of revolutionary theory, the growth of the party's leading role and the building of socialism.

In his historical speech at the Congress, G. Dimitrov provided a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of the accomplished revolution, its class nature, motive forces and basic prospects and laws governing the socialist development of Bulgaria. The thesis which he substantiated, according to which a people's democracy is a particular form of dictatorship of the proletariat, is of major importance. The 5th Congress set most important tasks in ideology, as follows:

1. Free theoretical thinking in Bulgaria from bourgeois influences, having borrowed everything that is valuable and progressive from the spiritual legacy of the past, and promote the further development of theory based on Marxism-Leninism.
2. Combine theory with the practices of building socialism. Make it incumbent upon Marxist philosophers to provide a philosophical-theoretical analysis of problems of Bulgarian social development.
3. Considering the tremendous importance of science to the practice of building socialism and the tempestuous development of science throughout the world, work on methodological problems in the individual sciences.

4. With the help of the journals FILOSOFSKA MISUL and NOVO VREME and specialized publications and oral propaganda, the personnel on the ideological front were asked to contribute to molding a Marxist-Leninist outlook in the working people.

The resolutions of the 5th BCP Congress and the new theoretical concepts, which were developed in Dimitrov's speech, became the guideline in the approach to problems of Bulgarian social development.

NOVO VREME made a worthy contribution to the theoretical elaboration of problems of socialist industrialization and the reorganization of the country's agriculture on a socialist basis as well as in solving problems of the cultural revolution. With its active participation, the BCP developed profound and firm traditions of creative attitude toward Marxist-Leninist theory and intolerance of various deviations and departures from it.

The resolutions of the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum inaugurated a new stage in Bulgaria's development and in the work of NOVO VREME. In surmounting dogmatism, sluggishness and routine, the party's Central Committee, headed by Todor Zhivkov, laid the beginning of a fruitful creative period of enrichment of the theory and practice of building socialism. This was a course of rapid development of socialist industry and the cooperative system in the countryside, a comprehensive scientific approach to the solution of economic and social problems in the country, updating public production, perfecting social relations and developing socialist democracy.

NOVO VREME comprehensively contributed to this undertaking of tremendous importance. Its articles scientifically discussed the laws, basic trends and tasks related to the further development of the socialist system in Bulgaria.

In assessing the distance covered by the country after the 5th Congress and the initial results of the implementation of the course charted at the April plenum, the 7th BCP Congress of June 1958 noted that the socialist reorganization of the economy had been completed in the country and that the exploitation of man by man had been eliminated forever. The congress formulated the party's tasks for the future: "The further building of a socialist society in our country through the even greater development of the material and production base of socialism and enhancing the socialist awareness of the working people...." In other words, the 7th BCP Congress charted a course of all-round development of socialist society, reflected in the specific assignments set by the party forum to industry, construction, agriculture, culture and social management. The 7th BCP Congress entered BCP history as a congress of victorious socialism.

The documents of the 8th and 9th BCP Congresses noted that the line drafted at the April 1956 plenum was being increasingly asserted in party activities. NOVO VREME drew the attention of its readers to problems of the accelerated all-round development of socialism, further improvements in work with cadres, comprehensive restructuring of social management and practical use of the sociostate principles of management as a qualitatively new base for the development of socialist democracy.

At that time, a creative atmosphere was developed in all areas of life of Bulgarian society, in which the formulation of a new party program became possible. Particularly noteworthy in this respect was the period between the 9th and 10th BCP Congresses. The party engaged in a tremendous and exceptionally difficult theoretical, political and organizational work, which was comprehensively covered in NOVO VREME. The journal systematically described the profound meaning and significance to the cause of building socialism of the idea formulated at the 9th BCP Congress of intensification and updating of the national economy on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, the comprehensive approach to the solution of problems of perfecting the system of social management, developed at the July 1968 BCP Central Committee Plenum, and the acceleration of the concentration and integration of science and production, as earmarked at the September 1969 BCP Central Committee Plenum.

The journal discussed extensively and fruitfully problems of agricultural concentration and specialization and practical utilization of industrial technologies, and the creation and development of agroindustrial complexes (APK) as a means of industrializing agricultural production, formulated at the April 1970 BCP Central Committee Plenum.

The consideration by the journal of essentially new approaches to social processes and phenomena created theoretical and political prerequisites for the formulation of a new party program, which was adopted in 1971 at the 10th BCP Congress. It raised to new heights party theoretical and political thinking and developed and asserted its strategy and tactics in the new historical stage of social development.

Subsequent to the adoption of the new BCP program, NOVO VREME vividly described its national and international significance. The wealth of ideas and concepts and political and theoretical solutions and great opportunities for further theoretical study and concern and attention for the needs and interests of all working people converted, as the journal noted, the party program into the program of the whole people. This was its national significance. The international significance of the BCP program, NOVO VREME emphasizes, is that it clearly confirmed that the basic laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism are valid for any country which takes the path of socialist restructuring.

NOVO VREME actively and purposefully discussed problems of the implementation of the BCP program, the course of which was reviewed at the 11th, 12th and 13th Party Congresses.

During that period the journal concentrated on problems of upgrading labor productivity, the struggle for efficiency and quality and the formulation and implementation of a comprehensive program for improving the living standard of the people, developing and applying the new economic mechanism, the restructuring of the system of public education, enhancing the efficiency of the ideological front and intensifying the party's leading role.

Starting with the beginning of the 1980s and, particularly, with the resolutions of the February 1985 and January 1986 BCP Central Committee

Plenums, the journal was given an integral ideological and theoretical platform covering the most important problems of the struggle for combining socialism with the scientific and technical revolution, profound quality changes in the base and superstructure of socialist society and all-round enhancement of the human factor.

The section entitled "The Scientific and Technical Revolution and Building a Mature Socialism in the NRB" became the driving force in NOVO VREME. This section included dozens of articles by noted party and state leaders, scientific workers and economic specialists, who discussed the ways and means of implementing the scientific and technical revolution in Bulgaria and brought to light the tremendous production and social possibilities of the scientific and technical revolution and its ideological and educational aspects.

In its daily work the journal is steadily guided by the party's instructions according to which a developed socialist society cannot be built, socialist production relations cannot be improved and new, highly professional and ideological standards of socialist working people cannot be molded without a scientific front and, particularly, without a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist science.

The historical tradition of the BCP is to be always concerned with the purity and creative development of Marxism-Leninism. The journal has been invariably loyal to it. It pays prime attention to materials which consider contemporary problems of molding the outlook of individuals, party construction under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, the style and methods of work of party organizations, problems of the struggle against negative phenomena in society and criticism of bourgeois ideology.

The journal informs its readers of the new processes and phenomena in contemporary bourgeois society and the developing countries and of the life and struggle of the national detachments of international worker and communist movements. It regularly publishes articles on unity among the main trends in the global revolutionary process and the ever growing role of the socialist system as the main factor in this process.

The holding of roundtable meetings on problems of contemporary capitalism, methodological problems of socialist political economy, party history science, social factors in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, training scientific cadres, and others, has been an unquestionable success of the journal.

NOVO VREME is approaching the 90th anniversary of the publication of its first issue in a period of exceptional importance in the life of the party and the country.

The strategy of acceleration of Bulgarian socioeconomic and cultural development, formulated at the 13th BCP Congress, calls for profound changes not only in economic, organizational and administrative structures but also in the content, style and methods of theoretical work done by the party. This has immeasurably enhanced the role of NOVO VREME in the further theoretical

elaboration and concretizing of the BCP's political course and recommendations for its practical implementation, based on the study of actual social processes. This sets the journal with the task of enriching its topics, enhancing the theoretical standard of publications, undertaking the more active study of practical phenomena and ensuring the effective practical utilization of theoretical conclusions.

The resolutions of the 13th BCP Congress call for an even more profound study of the laws governing the development of socialist society in Bulgaria, the comprehensive study of economic and social aspects of the scientific and technical revolution, the study of the dialectics of interaction between objective conditions and conscious human activities and the comprehensive study of man and the dialectics of his development as the creator of material and spiritual goods, active subject of politics and management and bearer of and spokesman for steadily increasing and developing needs and interests.

NOVO VREME gives priority and, as the editors' plans indicate, will continue to give priority to problems of the all-round development of socialist society at its present stage, the further advancement of the social and political system, the development of socialist democracy and people's self-government, the development of the creative initiative of the masses and problems of social equality and social justice.

Traditionally, the journal promotes the efficiency and theoretical standard of publications in the struggle against bourgeois ideology and a variety of manifestations of revisionism, nationalism and anti-Sovietism.

NOVO VREME is steadfastly guided by Georgi Dimitrov's behest, according to which the attitude toward the Soviet Union and Lenin's great party is the cornerstone of consistent proletarian internationalism.

Many of the articles published in the journal discuss the development and strengthening of the unity of action between the BCP and the CPSU and the convergence between Bulgaria and the USSR, guided by the fundamental stipulation of the party program: "To the Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgarian people, Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is what the sun and the air are to any living being; it is a friendship stemming from the depth of the centuries and lasting forever; it is one of the main motive forces of our development and a condition and guarantee for the further enhancement of our socialist fatherland and for its future."

NOVO VREME carries articles on the Soviet Union, on the implementation of the strategy of acceleration, the course of the restructuring and the utilization of the tremendous reserves and potential for achieving a new qualitative status in Soviet society. It regularly covers the positive steps taken by the USSR in the international arena and its peace initiatives, the purpose of which is the prevention of nuclear war and the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and achieving a radical turn in international relations in the interests of peace and social progress.

The journal extensively popularizes the experience of the Leninist party and the Soviet Union, which is of tremendous universal historical significance,

and the experience of the other fraternal parties. It contributes to its creative application under specific Bulgarian conditions.

The BCP has strong theoretical cadres. This enables NOVO VREME to enhance its work on the level of the broader and more responsible tasks set by the party and actively to contribute to the further systematic implementation of party strategy aimed at attaining a qualitatively new economic and spiritual growth of socialist society in Bulgaria, the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the enhancement of its transforming role.

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## MILITARISM AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

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[Text] The entire variety and scale of problems encountered by mankind at the end of the 20th century notwithstanding, the problem of war and peace remains the most urgent and important. More specifically, this applies to the problem of restraining militarism.

At no other time in history has there been a period when preparations for war been made at such a pace, scale and intensiveness, and when, in times of peace, such a large number of people have been under arms and military expenditures reached such a scope, and when politics has been subordinated to military considerations to such an extent, and war, armed forces and weapons have played such an important role in economics, science, ideology and culture. Particular concern is caused by the fact that in recent decades the trend toward the militarization of social life has been increasing steadily. Although during brief periods of time it has somewhat abated, this failed to change its overall trend and dynamics. Increasingly, militarism is becoming a sinister destructive force developing according to its own logic and laws and, furthermore, dictating such logic and laws to human society.

A great deal, essentially, everything, depends on whether or not mankind will be able to deal with militarism in the next decades: the fate of the current generation and that of generations to come, as well as the possibility of safeguarding human civilization and, perhaps, even life on our planet. Today militarism has become mankind's enemy number one, and the struggle against it the most important, the most relevant task of all healthy forces in contemporary society.

### Historical Retrospective

Militarism is an ancient phenomenon. It has existed through the ages, at least ever since the appearance of states, when the exploiting classes turned militarism into support of their domination, a tool for their aggressive



aspirations. It reached its peak development under capitalism, particularly at the imperialist stage.

"Contemporary militarism," V.I. Lenin pointed out, "is the result of capitalism. In both its forms it is a 'vital manifestation' of capitalism: as military power applied by the capitalist countries in foreign conflicts ('Militarismus nach aussen,' as the Germans say) and as a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes used to suppress all kinds (economic and political) movements of the proletariat ('Militarismus nach innen')." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 17, p 187).

Is this definition of militarism accurate today? Unquestionably, it is, although both functions are manifested today in somewhat different, sometimes more concealed and refined forms. Militarism and the political institutions, ideology and morality it has created, impose upon the people the special mentality of "state of siege," misshaping the entire system of traditional bourgeois democracy and distorting the normal political process. The McCarthyism of the beginning of the 1950s and the current wave of anticommunism and chauvinism in the United States are clear examples of how the opposition is suppressed politically and psychologically, normal discussions come to an end, and the cult of force and a militarized awareness are nurtured under the false pretext of a "foreign threat."

This indirect influence of militarism is permanent and extensive, for which reason it is frequently even more dangerous than a sporadic direct use of military power to suppress domestic opposition.

In areas where it is the question of "immature" capitalism and of weak links within the capitalist system or situations of crises in mature capitalist countries, militarism and military force act openly, assuming most fanatical forms, including terroristic military dictatorships. Quite clear examples are provided of this fact by Latin America, South Korea, Pakistan and many countries in Asia and Africa and, until recently, Greece, Spain and Portugal.

What were the new features which capitalism introduced in the development of militarism? Above all, together with the progress of military technology and a conversion to mass armed forces, the scale and depth of influence of militarism on society and its economics and politics changed. This occurred not only in times of war, which had happened in the past as well, but in times of peace as well. The mass production of weapons, ever more refined and expensive, became a powerful sector of the bourgeois economy, accelerating the militarization of science and bringing about profound changes in the financial and tax systems. It is thus that under capitalism militarism acquired yet another hypostasis: a large-scale war economy which increased steadily, the more so ever since military rivalry began to play a major role even in peacetime, for the arms race became not only part of preparations for war but also a definite policy, a policy of blackmail and pressuring the enemy and undermining him economically.

The imperialist stage in capitalist development also maximally expanded the territorial framework of war to its extreme limit: wars became world-wide. They confused the concepts of front and rear, which had developed in the

course of centuries, and those of military personnel and civilian population. They involved in their bloody whirlpool huge masses of people and immeasurably increased human casualties. Whereas 3 million people died in the wars waged in Europe in the 17th century, more than 5 million in the 18th century and nearly 6 million in the 19th, World War I alone took about 10 million human lives, and World War II, 55 million.

The human casualties, suffering and destructions of World War I were so high and the "ordinary state wisdom" became so severely compromised that no longer just isolated humanists but the broad masses began to realize that this should no longer continue. World War I was described as the last, as the war to end all wars. The expression "the lost generation" appeared, the first major plans for restructuring international relations were born and the first global international organization was created, the League of Nations, the purpose of which was to prevent a new world catastrophe.

All of these were clear symptoms of a beginning crisis of militarism, the more so since World War I had indicated that it is a question of a sociopolitical phenomenon which, at a certain stage in its development, becomes uncontrolled and triggers consequences which no one among those who were planning a war could even anticipate, including the accelerated development of revolutionary processes and the victory of the first socialist revolution in history, which, in addition to its main purpose--the liberation of the working people--turned into a kind of punishment inflicted on global imperialism for its crime of waging a world war.

World War II proved even more dramatically the crisis of the very institution of war as a means, a tool of politics. The forces which prepared and unleashed it suffered a crushing defeat. The objectives which the aggressors set themselves proved to be unattainable, once again. Mankind paid a stiff price for political adventurism. However, global imperialism as well suffered substantial losses: despite the scenarios developed in Munich, World War II, which was conceived as a "crusade" against the Soviet state, brought about, in the final account, a nation-wide, a universal historical movement against fascism and its total defeat and, in many cases, completed victorious people's democratic revolutions and accelerated the collapse of colonial empires. The lessons from the war became an incentive for plans and actions aimed at preventing a new catastrophe. International law was given a corresponding development (the United Nations Charter, the legal norms formulated in Nurnberg on crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity); the United Nations organization was set up along with an entire system of specialized international agencies. However, it became clear quite soon that militarism had not disappeared with the end of the war but, conversely, had begun to blossom at an unparalleled pace and in uniquely dangerous aspects.

#### Nuclear Dimension of Contemporary Militarism

At a first glance, the postwar situation presented a truly striking paradox. It was precisely then, when the development of weapons and means of destruction had reached a level which, as Lenin had predicted, threatened to undermine "the very conditions for the existence of human society" (op cit., vol 36, p 396), precisely at that time, when this circumstance made war

senseless and irrational, that militarism reached unparalleled scope. More than ever before it imbued all aspects of social life and gained an influence unprecedented in times of peace.

Naturally, this obvious contradiction has some explanations.

One of them is the fact that the consequences of the appearance of nuclear weapons were by no means immediately and suitably realized not only by the public but by political and military leaders as well.

Naturally, after the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, people were shaken and their thoughts about war and peace began to change. However, they did not become conscious of the depth of the change immediately. This was partially due to the fact that these events had taken place while the most bloodshedding and destructive war in history, with its other numerous upheavals and horrors--bloody battles, each one of which took hundreds of thousands of lives, the destruction of Stalingrad, Warsaw and Dresden and hundreds of other cities, the icy nightmare of the fascist "death camps," where millions of people were being murdered methodically, as though "on a conveyer belt,"--was coming to an end. By no means did everyone at that time clearly realize the true meaning of the first dropping of atom bombs, the more so since during those months mankind lived with the hope that the last war in history was coming to an end and that, henceforth, the United Nations would not allow any repetition of this catastrophe.

However, even when such hopes began to vanish, mental inertia was so strong that for a long time many people did not consider nuclear weapons a phenomenon which had turned upside down all concepts of war, peace and foreign policy.... The political leaders continued to think as of old and, as in the past, considered acceptable the use and threat of use of military power as a political instrument, although the Russel-Einstein manifesto had already proclaimed the need for a new way of thinking. This is confirmed by dozens of declassified documents on the military plans which were being formulated by the United States during the period of its nuclear monopoly and even in the first years after it was lost.

In this case, illusions were being lost slowly, with great difficulty. It is only in recent years that the world has heard clear statements by political leaders, including those in the United States, to the effect that a nuclear war must not be waged and that no one can come out of it the winner.

The very fact that the Soviet Union had attained parity in the nuclear area contributed to the "nuclear education" of politicians, and so did the active efforts of mass social movements and scientists, particularly in recent years, after they discovered the "nuclear winter" affect and scientifically proved that nuclear war would mean the end of human civilization and of man as a biological species. The study of the consequences of nuclear war by the "Physicians of the World for the Prevention of Nuclear War" movement, which was awarded the Nobel Prize, played a great role in this respect.

If anyone needed, even after that, further proof, it was provided by the Chernobyl tragedy. It clearly brought to everyone the unquestionable truth

that no one could remain unaffected by nuclear power out of human control, that it would spare no one.

Whereas it took decades for the unacceptability, the inconceivability of nuclear war to be admitted by high bourgeois and political leaders, this process developed even more slowly and with great difficulty on other levels, particularly among military leaders, in the area of military thinking, where nuclear weapons were considered for a long time, as merely another new weapon, although stronger but not changing the foundations of strategy, the traditional foundations of military science and art. The entire postwar history of development of military thinking in the United States and other Western countries is one of efforts to "circumvene" the new facts of life and to find "rational" ways of application of nuclear weapons, a solution to the dead end in which their appearance had taken the craft of war which was as old as it was glorious. It was in the course of such fulminations that the "counterforce" variant for the use of nuclear weapons (i.e., their use against weapons and not the population of the other side), and the concept of a "first strike" (i.e., which would disarm and deprive the enemy of the possibility of retaliation), plans for "limited" nuclear war and many others were invented. One after another, these "novelties" of Western strategic thinking went bankrupt. However, this did not discourage their inventors. The impression develops that, as it were, they were unable to reconcile themselves to the fact that the nuclear age marked the end of an entire historical period during which war and military power could be used as political instruments of war which, as the military classics had said, was the "extension of politics by other means." Despite the increasing obviousness of this fact and even its recognition by Western political leaders, means of waging nuclear war continue to be perfected and they continue to behave in the areas of strategy and military construction as though nothing has changed. It is difficult to determine the main reason for this: self-seeking "departmental" interest of military departments or simply mental inertia. The future will show.

However, this should not conceal the major changes which have taken place in recent years, the fact, in particular, that not only public opinion but the political leadership of most countries now recognize the unacceptability, the inadmissibility of nuclear war. Unfortunately, having said "A" on this question, by no means have all of them said "B," or drawn the conclusion that nuclear weapons were useless. Strange though it might seem, alongside statements by leaders of the inadmissibility of nuclear war, political circles in the United States and its allies remain convinced of the need for nuclear weapons.

This became particularly clear after Reykjavik. The door to a nuclear-free future was cracked open in the capital of Iceland. Looking through it, however, many Western politicians--both American and European--took fright and recoiled.

What were the true reasons for such behavior? The answer to this question is not all that simple or unequivocal. For some, it is a question of basic hypocrisy. For others, of stupid ideas and aspirations to block any progress in limiting armaments and disarming. However, it is important to realize that for many people it is rather a question of delusions, frequently sincere,

shared in the West not only by many politicians but also by a significant segment of the public. Such delusions should be discussed in greater detail.

Here is one: the monstrosly destructive power of nuclear weapons itself almost automatically excludes the possibility of their use. Furthermore, nuclear weapons make the great powers more cautious. They help to contain dangerous local conflicts in which conventional arms are used. Since such is the case, nuclear weapons are for good and not for evil. It is thanks to them that for the past 40 years mankind has lived without a world war.

Let us try to understand such reasoning. Is it true, above all, that for 40 years there has not been a "big" war precisely thanks to nuclear weapons? Since there is no subjunctive mood in history, in practical terms this assertion cannot be checked. One could imagine, however, that the fear of terrible destruction has probably played a certain role. This, however, hardly gives us the right to believe that such a fear is a reliable, not to say a perennial peace guarantee. This would mean to ascribe to all governments, state leaders and politicians the ability to have such a sensible and rational behavior and the gift of prophecy which, as historical experience indicates (including the history of the nuclear age) many of them have never had. Otherwise one cannot explain the outbreak of a number of wars, international crises and internal upheavals and major political errors in which the history of the 20th century abounds.

As to nuclear war, as a historian, I dare say that for 40 years it has been avoided not only and, perhaps, not exclusively as a result of state governmental wisdom but rather as a result of the opposition of society to their actions and, sometimes, simply by accident. Let us consider for an instant that during the 1962 crisis in the Caribbean a serious breakdown in communications had taken place, that a leader had made a major error or that any major internal upheaval had taken place (such as, let us say, an attempt on the life of President Kennedy, as it occurred a year later). Could anyone guarantee that no catastrophe would have occurred? In general, could one rely on such as a guarantee?

In the final account, however, the question is not even why we have been able to live without a "big" war for the past 40 years. What concerns us today above all is how to live without such a war for the next 40 and many other years. For even a single "breakdown" would be fatal, irreparable and irreversible.

It is absurd to base one's plans for the future on the fact alone that no catastrophe has taken place in the past. Let us imagine an elderly person, who is sick but is unwilling to go to the doctor saying that "I have lived for 70 years, have had no treatment and have not died a single time. I shall therefore live another 70 years."

Naturally, this comparison could be disputed: the life of an elderly person is one thing and politics, another. But then why are they different? The present political situation as well shows a number of chronic diseases of politics, due, so to say, to old age: the obsolescence of political concepts, a true "sclerosis" in the political thinking of many countries, the malignant

cancer of militarism and the arms race, rising mistrust and tension, the possibility of the development of new systems of weapons which lead to further destabilizing of the situation, the threat of proliferation of nuclear weapons and increasingly worse international relations.

Furthermore, we may also run out of luck. Specifically speaking, we must take into consideration the fact that the threat of an "accidental" nuclear war, if nothing changes in the world, would most likely increase because of the quantity of nuclear weapons and their new qualitative features which shorten the time needed for making most responsible decisions in the history of mankind. This makes it necessary to assign increasing responsibility for such decisions to machines and mechanisms which, however well checked, are imperfect.

Such is the tragic dilemma of our time. Mankind lives in a situation in which the mechanism of "nuclear destruction" has been fully developed and in which it can be activated by a faulty computer, an error made by a military serviceman or by a politician who has lost control over himself. Therefore, even if we take into consideration the fact that nuclear weapons or, rather the fear of them, have played a certain role so far in avoiding catastrophic wars, we cannot endlessly rely on them. Other, more reliable guarantees must be found.

We believe that this is felt by many people. Hence the unquestionable symptoms of a crisis in the doctrine of "nuclear restraint" or "threats" on which military-political thinking has been founded, one way or another, so far. The reasons for this crisis are not merely the fact that many people are sickened by the idea of peace under conditions in which another nation or all mankind are becoming nuclear hostages. It is also a question of the fact that the objective trends themselves in the development of military ordnance and, consequently, of strategic thinking lead quite clearly away from any "restraining." Let us recall the development of means of waging "limited" wars, plans for building a "strategic defense" and considerations of acquiring the possibility of dealing a first "disarming" strike. The weaponry systems which are being produced today are for precisely such purposes.

Here are two other illusions: one is that to a certain extent nuclear weapons are restraining the race in conventional armaments, devaluing them. Therefore, the elimination of nuclear weapons would actually lead to a drastic increase in the arms race in other areas.

We cannot agree with this view.

To begin with, the appearance of nuclear weapons has up to now not stopped the non-nuclear arms race but, conversely, urged it on. This took place particularly after it became clear that waging nuclear war means committing suicide and that nuclear destruction was not only guaranteed but reciprocal. It was precisely then, when all doubts in this matter were laid to rest, that the strategy of "flexible reaction" replaced the "mutual assured destruction" concept in the United States. This strategy called for increasing and, if necessary, using conventional armaments and armed forces. Such an increase has been taking place for a number of years on a scale unprecedented in

peacetime. In this case it is precisely the militarization of politics and political thinking, tremendously aided by the existence of nuclear weapons, that plays a major part.

Second, today the very attempt at separating nuclear from conventional armaments is becoming increasingly faulty. The latter are acquiring a tremendous striking power matching, in a number of aspects, the striking power of mass destruction weapons.

The other illusion is that nuclear weapons will enable us to save substantial funds, for without them, considering the high cost of conventional armaments, military expenditures would increase substantially.

Unquestionably, there are no doubts concerning the high cost of conventional armaments and armed forces. For example, the United States is spending 20 percent of its military appropriations on nuclear weapons, the remainder going into conventional armaments. However, as we pointed out, nuclear weapons did not stop but aggravated rivalry in conventional weapons, triggering a chain reaction of increasing militarism. As the experience of 4 decades of the nuclear age indicates, in this case the principle of "either-or" has never operated. The correlation was the precise opposite: the nuclear arms race aggravated tension and accelerated the race in conventional armaments and armed forces. Nuclear weapons acted like a fuse for an unparalleled militarization of politics, economics and international relations. For that reason, ending the nuclear arms race is also the key to solving the problem of demilitarizing social life.

Here is another important aspect. In calling for the total elimination of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union considers this important step only as part of a general plan for ensuring lasting peace and international security. The 15 January 1986 declaration by M.S. Gorbachev, which offered a program for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, stipulated that disarmament will be extended to other areas as well. This is natural, for the Soviet Union has suggested that an end be put to nuclear weapons not merely as a "substitution" for the arms race in other dangerous areas such as, for example, chemical or conventional armaments.

Better than any other country, the Soviet Union, which experienced the horrors of World War II ("conventional" according to all contemporary standards) knows what such a war would mean today. This largely applies to the rest of Europe as well, which has experienced two world wars. Today a "big" non-nuclear war is inconceivable outside of its territory. It is becoming increasingly understood in Europe that a conventional war is virtually as unacceptable as a nuclear war, the more so since there are more than 150 nuclear reactors matching the power of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant in Europe, a tremendous number of chemical plants, stocks of petroleum products and buried toxic waste dumps. All of this would turn even a "conventional" war totally destructive to a modern society.

The Soviet government considers an agreement on the elimination of nuclear weapons a major step, even a huge one, toward disarmament and demilitarization in all areas. Without waiting for such an agreement to be reached, together with its Warsaw Pact allies the USSR has submitted far-reaching suggestions in the area of limiting conventional armaments.

A nuclear weapon is not simply one more type of weapon. It is the foundation and the base of contemporary militarism. It has driven to its limits the main internal contradiction of militarism, tangibly proving that war, in assuming its "absolute aspect," to quote Clausewitz, loses all political meaning and justification, for it could result or, to put it more accurately, it could not fail to result, in the destruction of mankind. Such a weapon would take to their final frontier the age-old trends of militarism, armed forces and military technology. Mankind would be unable to remain on this frontier long and one more step would lead it either into a nuclear abyss or on the path to real disarmament.

### Socialism, Capitalism and the Fate of Militarism

The division of the world into two socioeconomic systems introduced a number of new features into the problem of militarism itself. From the viewpoint of the old society, "militarism turned inwards" and "militarism turned outwards" somehow merged. The events which followed the October Revolution indicated that in rescuing capitalism, both the Entente and the Kaiser's Germany used, above all, military force against the young Soviet republic.

It was already then that the question most urgently arose of whether a coexistence, peace between countries belonging to different social systems was generally possible or not. Socialism said "yes," although not without reservations. The reservations were related to the fact that it was difficult, under those circumstances, to trust that the imperialist powers would leave the land of the soviets alone. Furthermore, imperialist wars were still considered inevitable (as confirmed by the events, this conclusion at that time was entirely justified). That is why, initially, coexistence (or "peaceful coexistence") was considered essentially a "peaceful breeding spell," and the objective of politics was to make this breeding spell last as long as possible.

Nevertheless, despite all the fabrications of imperialist propaganda, from the very first days of the Soviet system the most definite conclusion was reached to the effect that socialism favored coexistence and that it essentially rejected war as means of imposing the new system in other countries, or the very idea of "exporting revolution." Our party defended this approach in a persistent struggle against "left wing" communists and Trotskyites.

In both words and actions, capitalism frequently answered in the negative the question of the possibility of coexistence between countries with different social systems, which led to in "hot" and "cold" wars, an arms race and the growth of international tension. Normalizing relations between the USSR and the capitalist countries and curbing armaments proved to be possible only to the extent to which the possibility of peaceful coexistence was accepted.



Major changes were noted in this area toward the end of the 1960s and first half of the 1970s. Subsequently, however, once again relations became severely aggravated and the arms race intensified. Changes in politics, naturally, were paralleled by noticeable changes in the views of the ruling U.S. circles on the possibility of coexisting with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

American "neoconservatism" of the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s developed, in practical terms, into militant anticommunism which preached a "crusade" against the socialist countries and progressive systems and movements. With the advent of the Reagan administration to power, such extremist views became a kind of official ideology, a "symbol of faith" of the U.S. leadership.

Furthermore the President himself (naturally, with the help of his advisers and "speech writers") worked hard to convert such views into political doctrines and, wherever possible, into policy.

We are quite familiar, in particular with his statements on the Soviet Union as being the "evil empire." This led to painting an image of the Soviet Union which called for entirely clear--permanent and irreconcilably hostile--relations. Changes in foreign policy and the internal order in the USSR were proclaimed as the only method of organizing such relations. This view was depicted as "defensive," substantiated by arguments concerning the "Soviet threat" and "Soviet expansionism." This was substantiated by President Reagan himself, not least with the help of "quotations" ascribed to the founders of Marxism-Leninism and the leaders of the USSR. He particularly liked to quote an alleged "statement" by Lenin, according to which "we shall initially seize Eastern Europe" and then organize the "Asian masses," after which the United States, which "will remain the last bastion of capitalism....will fall into our hands like an overripe fruit." These and other "quotations" used by the U.S. President were obvious forgeries repeatedly exposed by Western researchers as well.

However, forgeries and the image of a scarecrow drawn up with their help, on the other hand, were needed to justify preparations for war and help in the militaristic transformation of diplomacy, economic policy and activities of mass information media in the United States.

It was on this basis, in an atmosphere of unrestrained anti-Soviet hysteria, that the "Reagan doctrine" was nurtured, legitimizing military support given by the United States to mercenaries or, in general, to any armed scum prepared to fight against legitimate governments of countries which Washington classifies as "Marxist-Leninist." In proclaiming support of Marxism-Leninism a "casus belli," the United States substantiated, in particular, its aggression against Grenada and undeclared wars on Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Angola. In November of 1986 the U.S. President delivered a speech in which, essentially, he promised to extend this "doctrine" to the socialist countries of Europe.

It is true that in this area not everything went as Washington planned. As we know, by the end of 1986 this adventurist "doctrine," to give it its proper

name, involved the administration in a major political scandal, the so-called "Irangate." That is not surprising. In violating basic standards of international law, sooner or later the U.S. administration was bound to break American law as well and take the path of misleading congress and the public in its own country.

The brevity of the period of detente and the fast U.S. return to a "cold war" policy faced the Soviet Union with the following question: Are peaceful coexistence and normal relations with America possible? Are militarism, the arms race and the threat of war something organically inherent in its ruling social system?

The class nature of militarism is unquestionable. Like yesterday, today militarism is created and reproduced by capitalism, performing class functions in the international arena and in capitalist society itself. All of this is true. However, it is not the end. The basic equation that militarism equals capitalism does not take us even one step closer to the main thing: understanding the ways of efficient struggle against militarism, for this would lead to the conclusion that putting an end to militarism and the threat of war is possible only with the victory of socialism the world over. Such essentially erroneous views condemn us to a passive attitude in the struggle against militarism, ignoring differences and contradictions within the ruling bourgeoisie itself. In his time, Lenin himself pointed this out.

Today the problem of militarism has become even more complex and the internal struggle between aggressive and moderate forces in capitalist countries, even sharper. Not only the trend toward a steady shrinking of the social base of militarism but also the fact that war no longer meets the class interests of the bourgeoisie are becoming increasingly obvious. The reasons are clear. One of them is that, as history proves, capitalism has paid the cost of unleashing wars with social upheavals. Another is related to the progress of science and technology which has led to the fact that war has become senseless and suicidal even from the viewpoint of the oppressing minority. Furthermore, scientific and technical progress have made it possible to solve peacefully a number of problems which frequently led to wars in the past.

At this point and in this connection, the following question would be entirely anticipated: How can we relate all of this with the current unparalleled and truly unprecedented growth of militarism in a number of capitalist countries, the United States above all?

In answering it, it is important to bear in mind above all the circumstance that political power and its institution--militarism--like many other social phenomena of class origin and nature, could acquire a certain independence. This, incidentally, was Engels' topic in his "Anti-Duhring." Today this relative independence of militarism is manifested with particular clarity. In the past decade it has developed as a tremendous power in the West, which sometimes can successfully oppose even the broader and long-term interests of the working class as a whole. This does not apply to the military-industrial complex alone. This force is not only economic (armament corporations) or "institutionalized" (the professional military, part of the state bureaucracy). It is also political, consisting of groups of the ruling class

who are on the extreme right in the political spectrum and are unwilling to abandon the hope of making use of military force to restore past historical conditions and, in particular, to strangle world socialism, if not with the help of "miracle weapons" at least by economically exhausting it through an imposed arms race.

This however does not negate the main conclusion: objectively, to the bourgeoisie as a whole a modern war would be just as fatal as to any other social class; it would be as suicidal to capitalism as it would be to socialism. We cannot fail to recall the remark made by John Galbraith, the noted American economist, who said that there would be virtually no difference between the ashes of capitalism and the ashes of socialism. The interests of the majority of the ruling class in the capitalist countries are no longer served by the arms race which enriches only an insignificantly small group of monopoly capitalists; the overwhelming majority of corporations either receive the crumbs of profits from armaments or, in general, remain outside the "war economy." Meanwhile, the negative consequences of the arms race--increased inflation and budgetary deficits, reduced employment, obstruction to economic growth and violation of normal sectorial ratios, not to mention aggravated social contradictions--are being felt by the entire ruling class, the entire society.

Could capitalism abandon militarism "in principle?" I believe that we should not hasten to answer in the negative. Incredible though it might seem today, such will be the case in the future. Let us recall that as early as half a century ago the possibility of the collapse of colonial empires seemed just as incredible.

Contemporary capitalism will not abandon militarism voluntarily. However, if it is forced to abandon it by the force of economic and political realities, the opposition of the broad public strata and, naturally, the skillful policy of the socialist countries, which would prevent imperialism from imposing upon them its own "rules of the game," the prospect becomes realistic. This conclusion is consistent with the spirit and even the letter of Marxist-Leninist theory. Engels himself wrote that "militarism conceals within itself the embryo of its own doom" and that militarism will perish "by virtue of the dialectics of its own development" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 20, p 175). Dialectics related to excessive economic costs and the threat of unparalleled bloodshed is inseparable from preparations for war, for which reason it is rallying in the struggle against militarism the broadest possible political and social forces.

Today, when the world has become so interdependent and fragile, history reformulates many problems of the competition between the two social systems. Added to the traditional areas--economic and scientific and technical progress and material and cultural living standards--are new, no less important areas. They are being added not by someone else's whim but by virtue of objective changes which have cast mankind the most important challenge it has ever faced in its history: Will it be able to cope with problems on which its very existence depends?

A wide range of such problems, is related, directly or indirectly, to the contemporary condition of international relations and foreign policy. This applies above all to the problems of war and peace and all that this involves--arms race, regional conflicts and crises, lack of confidence, etc. It includes the aggravated problem of struggle against poverty and hunger, disease and ignorance of the masses in the developing countries and, finally, the threat to the environment and other global problems. Such problems create a new dimension in the competition between the two systems: What ways and solutions will mankind suggest for each one of them? For the time being, we see here striking contrasts.

The Soviet Union and the socialist world proceed from the fact that the old traditional approaches will not provide a true solution but can only aggravate the danger. The USSR has selected the difficult path of searching, a path of new thinking and new policy. It has already submitted a number of large-scale initiatives which have met with the broad support of the world public, above all the program for the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons.

Such daring Soviet proposals were formulated only in the past year but they have already greatly changed the circumstance, the political mood and political thinking in the global community!

In the mean time, what have the peoples of the world heard coming from the United States? Unfortunately, essentially a repetition of old themes, the themes of confrontation and hostility, of a "black and white" world, and mobilization of the forces of the "absolute good" against the forces of "evil and totalitarianism." The intellectual and moral poverty of this ideological and political platform is becoming increasingly obvious to the world public and, of late, to the Americans themselves.

Yet another striking political asymmetry between the USSR and the United States is becoming increasingly clear. We would like America to be a partner, despite all differences and the fact that we do not like much in that country and society. In no way do we need to have the United States as an enemy.

Conversely, something which is quite characteristic of the present administration, the United States needs the Soviet Union quite badly precisely as an enemy, in the way that a fanatical preacher needs the devil and fear of eternal torture to whip up the faith in his simple flock. Perspicacious Americans have frequently pointed this fact out. George Kennan, the outstanding historian and diplomat, once pointed out that if the Soviet Union were suddenly to disappear and drop to the bottom of the sea, it would simply have to be invented. The reason is understandable, for without the image of an "enemy" without the "evil spirit" the \$300 billion military budget would become criminally senseless, many pillars of the domestic order would be weakened and current foreign policy would become simply bankrupt.

As long as it is a question of ideals and political programs, which are also fields of competition, we in the Soviet Union could be satisfied with such asymmetry. However, one of the distinctions between the new way of thinking and the old is understanding the truth that by no means everything that is bad

for the other side is useful for yours, and that world problems are solved not by the rules of arithmetic but those of higher mathematics and dialectics.

The situation is viewed from Moscow as not one of winning points in the propaganda battle or of getting one's opponent on his back, but of solving, together with him, the tasks which history has put on the agenda. This was quite accurately said by M.S. Gorbachev at the 27th CPSU Congress, when asked whether the governments of the capitalist countries would be able to take the path of sober and constructive assessments of events: "The easiest answer would be maybe yes and maybe no. However, history does not give us the right to make such a prediction. We cannot accept 'no' as an answer to the question of whether or not there would be a mankind. We say that social progress and the life of civilization must and will continue to exist."

This approach is based on the clear understanding that the need to solve the most crucial tasks of mankind must motivate the socialist and capitalist worlds to interact. It must bring to life the as yet unparalleled powers of mankind's self-preservation. This is the incentive for decisions consistent with the realities of the time.

The new political thinking, which reflects the national-government and class interests of the Soviet Union is also consistent with the basic vital interests of all mankind. As Lenin emphasized in his time, "...From the viewpoint of the basic ideas of Marxism the interests of social development supercede those of the proletariat..." (op cit., vol 4, p 220).

Today a total merging is taking place in foreign policy between the interests of mankind and those of the working class. This ensures true harmony and a dialectical unity between strategy and tactics, form and content, and objectives and means of Soviet foreign policy. This includes its flexibility and the ability to formulate, in cooperation with other countries, a line which would not create but would solve problems.

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## WORLD SCIENTISTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 116-117

[Review by Academician K. Frolov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, of the book "Mir i Razoruzheniye" [Peace and Disarmament]. Scientific studies. Special issue. Materials of the Second All-Union Conference of Scientists on Problems of Peace and Prevention of Nuclear War (Moscow, 27-29 May, 1986). Academician P.N. Fedoseyev, editor in chief. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 216 pp]

[Text] As we know, by decision of the United Nations, 1986 was proclaimed the International Year of Peace. Looking back today we can confidently claim that during that year the efforts of the progressive public on earth indeed brought us closer to the ideals of peace and global security. Scientists play a special part in this difficult but only true path. Possessing the most accurate and comprehensive knowledge on the world around us and the processes which are occurring (or could occur) in the biosphere, it is precisely scientists who can and must forecast the development of this fragile living organism, small on the scale of the universe, under a specific set of circumstances, the development of a planet which is perhaps the only habitable and intelligent planet in the universe.

It is noteworthy that the book under review came out on the eve of the anniversary of the 15 January 1986 declaration by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. It would be no exaggeration to say that that document set the high tone of struggle for disarmament and peace which marked the past year. M.S. Gorbachev's declaration, which included a realistic plan, close to the hearts and minds of all honest people, calling for the elimination of nuclear armaments by the start of the third millennium, was welcomed with enthusiasm by the Soviet scientists and by scientists the world over. This is convincingly confirmed by the content of this book.

Most of the book consists of reports and communications submitted at the Second All-Union Conference of Scientists on Problems of Peace and Prevention of Nuclear War. This conference was a major event dedicated to the Year of Peace, as a major step in the struggle for international security. It was attended by more than 300 Soviet and 130 foreign scientists from 44 countries.

In addition to that conference, however, last year other important meetings and discussions were held in the Soviet Union on problems of peace and disarmament, with the participation of Soviet and foreign scientists. Let me cite among them the international forum of scientists for halting nuclear tests, the international scientific forum on "Science, Technology and Peace," which was held in Moscow by the World Federation of Scientists, and the meeting between Soviet and American scientists who held an informal discussion on a broad range of scientific problems related to verification of the observance of the treaty on banning nuclear tests. Some of the documents which resulted from these steps have been included in this book. Let me note, in particular, the report on the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and representatives of the international scientific forum on halting nuclear tests.

This meeting made an exceptionally strong impression on the participants in the forum. In the course of my visit to the United States, not so long ago, I talked with (A. Sirig), a professor at the University of Wisconsin, who, back from Moscow, gave an interview to an American newspaper in which he described the forum and the meeting. The reaction to the article was hundreds of letters from his compatriots, a particularly large number of whom were young people, and all of which expressed full support for the Soviet peace initiatives.

What makes this new book by the academic Izdatelstvo Nauka attractive to the reader? Above all, the extremely broad range of problems related to disarmament. Outstanding specialists in various areas of knowledge submit the latest results of their studies on possible consequences of a thermonuclear conflict, the possible consequences of the militarization of space, problems of the safe development of industry and the power industry in the age of the scientific and technical revolution, the influence of an atmosphere of tension, caused by the threat of war on the physical and mental health of the individual, international law and approaches to the solution of global problems. This is a very general enumeration of the questions which were specifically and thoroughly discussed at the conference.

We happen to be living in an exceptionally complex and difficult time. Mankind faces global problems in their full magnitude: problems of resources, ecology, energy and food. The most global of all global problems is that of war and peace. Its resolution would make truly meaningful approaches to the solution of all the other; disarmament alone can release the necessary material facilities which would enable us to surmount the difficulties accompanying the development of our civilization.

Like any serious and, even more so, any global problem, that of war and peace requires a comprehensive, all-round study and resolution. The book under review convincingly describes ways of efficient interaction among workers of the natural, technical and social sciences. I believe that the comprehensive study of global problems brings us closer to the creation of a unified science of the future, the prototype of which was described in the works of Marx. We hope that the great and valuable experience of close interaction among scientists, accumulated in the study of problems of halting nuclear tests and disarmament and war and peace, will be of use to mankind when it really

undertakes to provide a practical solution to global problems which will stand on its way in the future.

Another conclusion which may be drawn by the reader of this book is that science is not omnipotent despite the great power of its ways and means and the best goodwill of scientists. The solution of global problems, those of war and peace above all, requires the active participation of the broadest possible popular masses, public organizations and state and political leaders. Global problems demand global solutions and a new way of thinking. I believe that the conference itself contributed to the formulation of such new type of thinking and so will the book which I have attempted to describe briefly.

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## STRATEGY OF ACCELERATION IN ACTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 117-119

[Review by Yu. Rytov, journalist, of the book "Uskoreniye. Aktualnyye Problemy Sotsialno-Ekonomicheskogo Razvitiya" [Acceleration. Topical Problems of Socioeconomic Development]. Issues 1-3. D. Valova, responsible editor. Izdatelstvo Pravda, Moscow, 1985-1986]

[Text] I recall the following from one of my journalistic assignments. In concluding an economic conference, the general director of a large production association said:

"For the time being, you and I, comrades, have a rather confused idea on how to do the restructuring.... Personally, however, I vote with both hands for the restructuring, for we can simply not carry out our assignments through the old methods!"

Naturally, the general director was half-joking when he made this last statement. This was understood by the people who left the hall with a smile on their face. Nevertheless... as we know, any joke has a kernel of truth. Yes, we are aware of the strategic tasks which the country faces today. We are also well aware of the basic ways of solving such problems. However, speaking honestly, could every one of us confidently say that he is internally ready for restructuring, having totally abandoned customary and obsolete work methods, surmounted the depressing bureaucratic code of behavior which existed in production and social life (such as "initiative is punishable" or "the mind is a good thing but a paper is better"), and has become armed with new approaches to his work, defending them every day and every hour, aspiring to reach previously inconceivable heights?

Nothing is that simple. Let us now leave aside those who are merely adapting themselves to the restructuring, concealing behind ringing statements their unwillingness or inability to adopt a new life style. This should be the topic of another discussion. However, we also have a large number of entirely honest and decent people who, in the past as well, worked conscientiously and efficiently, and who assumed that in their case precisely no restructuring is needed. Change the economic management system, they think, give us a realistic plan, supported with resources, provide efficient economic

incentives, equip us with modern facilities and we shall not let you down.... Provide, secure, procure.... Today the power of inertia, which hinders restructuring and paralyzes initiative, resides in these very words, in relying on the omnipotent Daddy in the ministry. Could this power be surmounted merely with pious appeals for autonomy, initiative and creativity? Hardly. We also need specific examples of independent action, live examples of the already available experience in creative work of the pioneers of restructuring.

In my visits to enterprises and in encounters with workers, brigade leaders, specialists and economic managers, I saw many of them carry files with newspaper and journal clippings. What had they collected and carefully preserved? As a rule, materials on specific examples in restructuring. With their pencil marks on the margins and exclamation points and question marks, they clearly refuted the popular view that the life of a newspaper is 24 hours. They convincingly prove the great need for systematized study of progressive economic practice and interpretation of new approaches to projects on a revolutionary scope we have undertaken and projects which demand innovative solutions.

I hope the reader will excuse me for such a long introduction. However, this, precisely, is the purpose of the three quite voluminous booklets of collections entitled "Acceleration," with differently colored covers, recently published by Izdatelstvo Pravda. They give a second life, long and fruitful, I hope, to materials published in the central press and journals on the most vital problems of the present. The concept of acceleration of socioeconomic development: its theoretical aspects, refracted in practical actions throughout the country and in all sectors on the front of restructuring is the main topic of the collections. The authors are impressive: more than 60 per volume. They include workers, kolkhoz members, party and economic managers, ministers, scientists and journalists. Also unusually broad is the range of their thoughts dealing with town and country, plants and livestock farms, scientific research institutes or construction sites.... It is against this background that the key tasks of the 12th 5-year period are described most specifically and in their entire variety, tasks which accelerate the course of a sharp restructuring in all areas of the country's socioeconomic life.

And so, restructuring. Its objectives, problems and first valuable bits of practical experience. This, actually, is the leitmotif of the entire content of the collections, described by the individual authors in their own way, accents and tonality. How has this complex process of reorientation of one and all been reflected on acceleration as described in these collections?

I would single out here three basic trends, three "layers" of restructuring in the national economy, which would give the reader the fullest possible idea. First layer: Discipline, organization, order, initiative. All of us well know that it is precisely these factors, which are the most accessible, that initially predetermine to a tremendous extent the unquestionable positive changes which have taken place in our economy and other areas of social life, which characterized the first year of the 12th 5-Year Plan. There is obviously no data in this collection which does not pertain, one way or another, to such sensitive problems. Furthermore, the strengthening of

organization and order are considered in the materials as an absolute and mandatory condition for restructuring.

V. Matus, head of a combine brigade at the Silvinit Association in Solikamsk, describes the harm caused to the production process by the low level of discipline at an enterprise (volume 1). M. Sinitsyn, head of a fitters-assemblymen's brigade at the Khabarovsk Machine Tool Manufacturing Plant, notes not only the production but also the moral losses which appear as a result of a slovenly organization of the work (volume 2). Journalist A. Druzenko supports these observations of production workers with eloquent figures. In 1984 working time losses at enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy averaged 0.68 days per worker. This is the equivalent of 3,000 workers in that sector idling the length of a full year. The respective indicators for the Ministry of Chemical Industry were 0.86 days, or 2,000 people; for the USSR Ministry of Construction Materials, 1.51 days or 5,000 "nonworking people" (ibid.). How many were there for the entire national economy? Is this not the most important reason for the "manpower scarcity" which, until recently, was so extensively discussed in big books and journals?

All of this is true, the reader will most likely say. Such facts have indeed taken place. Here and there, they still exist. But what do the authors suggest? To tighten up the administrative screws?

Yes, indeed, the authors do not belittle in the least the significance of administrative levers. With specific examples they prove that increasing responsibility for assignments and end results is one of the most important components in our movement to strengthen order and discipline. However, in itself, this is by no means sufficient.

The strengthening of economic levels, use of new ways and means of socialist economic management and the establishment of an efficient economic mechanism are the second, deeper layer of the restructuring.

This topic is described most vividly and impressively in the collections. Let us consider, for example, the experience of the AvtoVAZ Association, widely known today. The readers can follow the story of the conversion of this collective to total cost accounting, self-recovery and self-financing. The first steps along this way are described in detail by P. Katsura, the then director in charge of VAZ economics and planning (volume 1). His article is extremely interesting for its detailed description of the essence of the new economic mechanism and the entire system of cost accounting incentives and levers which make it possible to link within a single entity the interests of the worker, the collective and the state. Also described is the procedure for the distribution of profits and withholding from profits for the state budget and the ministry and enterprise funds. The author describes the way in which the collective intends to spend the earned funds. Naturally, he outlines the national economic results which would be ensured through the new work methods. To begin with, they include a considerable reduction in the time for developing new car models: one basic model each five years. Secondly, this would make it possible to accelerate equipment replacement and updating: one technological unit will be changed each 5 years and basic technological equipment once every 15 years.

After a certain lapse of time, once again we meet with the collective of AvtoVAZ in the third volume. V. Kadannikov, first deputy general director of the association and director of its scientific and technical center, describes the implementation of the program and the tasks of the new plant subdivision--the scientific and technical center--which is to accelerate scientific and technical progress.

The article by journalist V. Kalinkin is entitled "VAZ: Self-Financing." It describes specific experience in economic management under the conditions of self-recovery and self-financing and the effect of the anti-outlay mechanism.

The collections include many other instructive materials which describe the content and practical experience of collectives operating on a cost accounting basis in different economic sectors. Need we prove how valuable this experience is precisely now, during the second year of the 5-year period, when one more major step is being taken to apply economic levers and assert the new principles of economic management.... As we know, a number of industrial ministries and the USSR Minmorflot and major associations and enterprises in other sectors are being converted to total cost accounting, self-recovery and self-financing. A systematic conversion to that system has been undertaken by the construction organizations as well. This is described by Yu. Batalin, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman (volume 3). The new economic mechanism is being applied in agriculture as well, as discussed in the same volume, in the part entitled "The Agroprom Today."

Unfortunately, problems related to the technical retooling of enterprises and the designing and installation of new equipment and technologies are described on a much more modest scale. Yet it is precisely here that we find the third, the most profound and most complex layer of the economic restructuring. Nevertheless, here as well the reader could learn many useful facts and meet with interesting interlocutors. In particular, known Soviet economic managers, such as V. Kabaidze, general director of the Ivanovo-Sofia Scientific-Production Association, B. Fomin, general director of the Leningrad Elektrosila Association, and others describe the practical experience of their collectives in this important area, in the third volume. Basic problems of scientific and technical progress within the context of the strategy of acceleration are considered by Academicians A. Aganbegyan, V. Afanasyev, Yu. Buslayev and V. Trapeznikov (No 2) and I. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers (No 3).

These articles prove that in our best enterprises tasks related to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress are being implemented quite thoroughly and energetically. The experience acquired here should be thoroughly studied and widely disseminated. The chronicle of the first steps in the restructuring, found in the "Uskoreniye" collections offer rich data for this purpose.

A number of essays and articles included in the collections deal with problems of the establishment of the Agroprom, comprehensive regional developments and characteristics of ideological work under contemporary conditions. The third volume includes the section "Experience of Our Friends," which, unquestionably, will draw the particular attention of the readers. This

acquired experience is one of the important sources and reserves for our own acceleration.

However, let us also point out major shortcomings of these volumes. Efficiency is a splendid quality and all volumes were prepared for publication within a short time. It was precisely thanks to this that most of the materials they contain remain unquestionably relevant. Unfortunately, however, haste is clearly felt in the work of the compilers. The collections include articles, essays and letters which have obviously failed the test of time.

At this point we should probably say that such shortcomings do not diminish in the least the value of these volumes. This is indeed the case but not without reservations, for which reason we would like the editors and compilers of such collections to display the greatest possible exigency in their work on future issues.

The "Uskoreniye" collections will, unquestionably, become a major aid to party workers, economic managers, workers, engineers, agricultural workers and scientists who would like to take a close look at the work already done so that the next step in the implementation of the strategy of acceleration become broader, more decisive and efficient. This good initiative by Izdatelstvo Pravda must be continued.

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## SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 120-122

[Text] A.I. Anchishkin. "Nauka-Tekhnika-Ekonomika" [Science-Equipment-Economics]. Ekonomika, Moscow, 1986, 384 pp. Reviewed by Yu. Shiryayev, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member.

The study of a number of contemporary works on economic problems indicates that, unfortunately, their authors frequently fall into two extremes which learn to coexist quite peacefully under the flag of "division of grounds" between theoretical and applied economists. It is a question, on the one hand, of works which claim to be developing theory but, in fact, repeat familiar truths and comment on problems which were solved long ago. On the other hand, many works of a descriptive nature are published, whose authors do not risk to go from a simple systematizing of facts in to their theoretical summation.

That what makes the publication of any new book whose authors have been able to make a real contribution to the development of economic theory so interesting. Such studies are particularly necessary at turning points in the development of society, when the need for "practical theory" increases drastically. This work by Academician A.I. Anchishkin can be classified as such with full justification.

Although the author does not personally define the genre of his work, its study indicates that this is essentially a book on political economy which, however, is not limited to the customary postulates and categories. He introduces in scientific circulation new economic ideas and concepts and backs their legitimacy. This combination of philosophical, political-economic, historical and specific-economic approaches, successful as a whole, has allowed the author to consider the questions raised in the book in their actual complexity and contradictoriness and to suggest scientific solutions for many of them.

The book essentially concentrates on shedding light on the mechanism of economy of social labor, as the main result of scientific and technical progress. The patterns of scientific and technical progress are studied not

as the sum total of scientific ideas and technical innovations but as the material foundations of socioeconomic progress.

In describing the economic nature of scientific knowledge and the twin nature of scientific labor, the author, successfully in our view, substantiates the stipulation governing their specifically social consumer value: the ability to save on labor. He consistently supports the viewpoint that the influence of science on the development of the economy is achieved through the materialization of scientific knowledge as a result of more complex and skilled labor and more advanced means of production. He also points out that the speed of scientific and technical progress is organically related to that of reproduction processes from which it is inseparable. This view enables him to discard existing simplistic concepts regarding the direct influence of science on the development of the economy rather than through the intermediary of the process of materialization of scientific knowledge.

In analyzing the role of science in the modern reproduction process, the author quite convincingly proves the groundlessness of the nonhistorical approach, meaningfully identifying the objective and subjective prerequisites with which the empirical development of technology is combined with science, gradually developing into scientific and technical progress. It is true that at this point inevitably the question of the similarity and differences among major historical turns in production forces arises. In supporting the concept of the three industrial revolutions (see, for example, the diagram on p 175), the author, in our view, underestimates the current drastic turn in production forces. The contemporary revolution in production forces could be described with sufficient justification as being a scientific-production revolution.

The author also studies the problem of the forms and limits in achieving labor savings on the basis of the development of science and technology. He proves that saving on labor is an actual economic category which is manifested in the increased income of the participants in public production and offers the potential opportunity of releasing manpower and reducing prices. Nevertheless, economy in labor is achieved under the conditions governed by the development of more complex social needs. Based on a study, the author shows why in most cases lowering the cost per unit of output does not lead to a reduction in price. We believe, however, that more work should be done on this problem. To begin with, as the author notes, installing the latest equipment involves additional cost: accelerated moral obsolescence of operating fixed assets, increased expenditures for upgrading the skills and the retraining of workers, etc. Second, better substantiation is needed for the interpretation of the intensive type of economic growth, according to which it is characterized by a simple reproduction of cost with expanded reproduction of the sum total of consumer values (p 138). The change in technology also presumes increased quality and improved labor skills. More complex work, in turn, creates greater value.

Other interesting questions are the contemporary laws governing scientific and technical progress in socialist society and its role in accelerating socioeconomic development, and the specific ways of mastering on a planned and conscious basis the potential opportunities provided by the scientific and technical revolution, interpreted by the author.

The author studies the contemporary features of the scientific and technical revolution and its aspects which apply above all to strengthening national economic planning. At the same time, he describes the features of extensive and intensive economic development on the basis of scientific and technical progress. He substantiates the viewpoint that scientific and technical progress involves both extensive and intensive economic growth and that, in the final account, labor savings arise as the "balance" of additional outlays and additional savings. He suggests methods for solving problems of controlling scientific and technical progress, such as enhancing the determining role of socioeconomic objectives and tasks, strengthening the inner balance within the "science-production" cycle and regulating the life cycles of new equipment.

In the final account, combining science with labor, upgrading the active role of a scientific outlook and using the results of technical progress in enhancing the people's well-being, strengthening its social orientation and enhancing the prestige of all types of labor as well as developing their intellectual foundations are, as the author indicates, decisive features in the acceleration of economic development.

Naturally, many of the questions in such a book, which offer a creative basis for discussion, are debatable. This applies to the double nature of scientific work, the characterization of the contemporary stage of scientific and technical progress and the economic nature of the "output" of the scientific-information complex. The author does not answer the question of the significance and forms of international scientific and technical relations. In raising a variety of topical problems, as yet unstudied in the science of economics, he encourages a useful debate.

V. Viktorov and V. Kumanev. "Skvortsov-Stepanov." Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1986, 272 pp. Reviewed by A. Mileykovskiy, academician.

The book "Electrification of the RSFSR in Connection with the Transitional Phase of the Global Economy" rests on Vladimir Ilich's desk, in his Kremlin office, confirming the attention which the great leader paid, to the very last day of his life, to the problem discussed in the book. We read on the cover the dedication: "To my dear comrade V.I. Lenin-Ulyanov, from the author who was mercilessly 'coerced' to write this book, and who unexpectedly found in it his 'vocation.' Long live such 'coercion'!" It is signed "I. Stepanov."

Unfortunately, so far no thorough biography has existed of this outstanding revolutionary personality of the Leninist school, who left a memorable trace in the history of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. The book under review is essentially the first expanded biography of I.I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, party member since 1896 and one of the active participants in the Great October Revolution. This, unquestionably, is a creative success of the authors. The easy handling of abundant factual data, some of which published for the first time, and the interest in the topic itself have enabled them to depict truthfully, against a broad historical background, the process of the shaping of the outlook of their character and his development as a party and



state leader and Marxist scientist, while avoiding the type of schematism so frequently encountered in works of this nature.

The book includes many memorable events of Skvortsov-Stepanov's life, such as his famous speech to the Constituent Assembly in January 1918, in which he exposed the counterrevolutionary nature of the right-wing "majority." At that time Lenin wrote: "Comrade Skvortsov was right. In two or three brief, clear, simple and calm yet mercilessly sharp sentences, he told the right-wing S.R.: "Everything is finished between us. We shall carry out to the end the October Revolution against the bourgeoisie. You and I are on different sides of the barricade" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, pp 229-230).

Skvortsov-Stepanov combined his comprehensive activities in the party and the government with persistent self-education motivated by his passionate desire for knowledge. He was born to a poor family, and had a typical Russian talent. However, a great deal of persistent work and tremendous stress and strictest possible self-discipline were needed to develop it before he became one of the best educated people of his time. Skvortsov-Stepanov was the author of a number of profound and inventive books on economic, historical and philosophical problems, not counting translations and newspaper and journal articles. His translation of "Das Kapital," the best according to Lenin, "is justifiably described by the authors as a "true exploit for the cause of the revolution," and a truly "priceless contribution to the dissemination of Marxism in Russia" (p 86).

The best parts in this biography include the chapter "Ilich's Fellow Worker," which is saturated with largely unknown facts about meetings, talks, correspondence and business and personal relations between the leader of the October Revolution and Skvortsov-Stepanov. Lenin always gave suitable credit to his profound knowledge, erudition and literary talent. It is no accident that when the need arose for a scientific book on the GOELRO plan, which the broad masses could understand, Skvortsov-Stepanov was Lenin's choice.

Naturally, the value of this book does not end with a selection of interesting facts. Today, at this sharp turn in our history and a period of renovation of the very content of social life, with address ourselves with increasing frequency to the experience of the members of the Leninist guard, the pioneers of socialism. Their dedication, infinite loyalty to the cause, tireless energy, work style and method and crystal purity provide us with inspiring examples.

Let us conclude with a few critical remarks. The authors should have described in greater detail Skvortsov-Stepanov's philosophical views, his historical works, literary articles and work on the publication of V.I. Lenin's collected works. Closer attention should have been paid also to his numerous anti-religious speeches and activities as the responsible editor of IZVESTIYA.

The books selected in the "Life of Outstanding People" series enjoy great demand among readers of all ages. This, unquestionably, is a success for Izdatelstvo Molodaya Gvardiya. What we fail to understand only is why are

such books published in such limited editions? The book under review is no exception. Demand has significantly exceeded the size of the edition.

Incidentally, other outstanding fighters for the victory of the Soviet system and the triumph of the great communist ideals are still awaiting their authors within this series.

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## BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 122

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FACTS AND FIGURES. USSR CENTRAL STATISTICAL ADMINISTRATION REPORT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) pp 123-127

[Text] Basic Indicators of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and Growth Rates of Basic Economic Development Indicators

(1917 = 1)

	1940	1960	1970	1980	1985	1986 (Plan)
Gross social product	7.8	33	64	106	127	131
Produced national income	8.2	36	71	115	137	143
Basic production assets, all economic sectors	2.8	8.9	21	45	61	65
Industrial output	12	63	142	253	303	316
Production of means of production (group A)	19	128	306	559	669	697
Production of consumer goods (group B)	7.6	24	49	82	99	104
Gross agricultural output	1.9	3.0	4.1	4.6	5.1	-
Total freight hauled	5.8	22	46	79	91	94
Freight hauled by rail	6.7	24	40	55	59	59

Production of Some Types of Industrial Commodities  
in Physical Volumes

	1917	1940	1960	1970	1980	1985
Electric power, billion kw/h	2.2	48.6	292	741	1,294	1,544
Petroleum (including gas condensate), million tons	8.8	31.1	148	353	603	595
Natural gas, billion cu m <sup>3</sup>	-	3.2	45.3	198	435	643
Coal, million tons	31.3	166	510	624	716	726
Steel, million tons	3.1	18.3	65.3	116	148	155
Rolled ferrous metals (finished), million tons	2.3	11.4	43.7	80.7	103	108
Chemical fertilizers (in terms of 100% nutritive substance), million tons	0.0	0.8	3.3	13.1	24.8	33.2
Synthetic resins and plastics, thousand tons	-	10.9	312	1,670	3,637	5,019
Chemical staples and fibers, thousand tons	-	11.1	211	623	1,176	1,394
Turbines, million kilowatts	-	1.2	9.2	16.2	19.6	21.6
Metal-cutting machine tools, thousands	0.2	58.4	156	202	216	182
Forging and pressing machines, thousands	-	4.7	29.9	41.3	57.2	52.7
Tractors, thousands	-	31.6	239	459	555	585
Excavators, thousands	-	0.3	12.6	30.8	42.0	42.6
Paper, thousand tons	155	838	2,334	4,185	5,288	5,986
Cement, million tons	1.0	5.8	45.5	95.2	125	131
Fabrics, all kinds, billion m <sup>2</sup>	1.2	3.3	6.6	8.9	10.7	12.1
Under and upper knitwear, million	-	186	583	1,229	1,623	1,732
Shoes, million pairs	50	212	419	679	743	788
Radio receivers, thousands	-	178	4,165	7,815	8,478	8,849
Television sets, thousands	-	0.3	1,726	6,682	7,528	9,371
Refrigerators and freezers, thousands	-	3.5	529	4,140	5,932	5,860
Passenger cars, thousands	-	5.5	139	344	1,327	1,332
Granulated sugar, million tons	0.9	2.2	6.4	10.2	10.1	11.8
Fish catch and other maritime products, million tons	0.9	1.4	3.5	7.8	9.5	10.7

The same amount of electric power which would have taken 32 days in 1940 was produced in a single day in 1985; the respective figures were 19 days for petroleum (including gas condensate), 8 days for steel, 44 days for chemical fertilizers, 19 days for tractors, 23 days for cement and more than 6 months for natural gas extraction.

Position Held by USSR Industry in the World and in Europe  
in Volume of Output

	1913		1985	
	World	Europe	World	Europe
Industrial output	5	4	2	1
Electric power	8	6	2	1
Petroleum (including gas condensate)	2	1	1	1
Natural gas	Insignificant amount produced in prerevolutionary Russia		1	1
Coal (marketable)	6	5	3	1
Pig iron	5	4	1	1
Steel	5	4	1	1
Iron ore	5	4	1	1
Coke	4	3	1 <sup>1</sup>	1
Chemicals	-	-	2 <sup>2</sup>	1
Chemical fertilizers (in terms of 100% nutritive substance)	-	-	1	1
Sulfuric acid, monohydrate	-	-	2	1
Machine building output	4	3	2	1
Tractors (overall engine power)	None in prerevolutionary Russia		1	1
Timber exports	2	1	2 <sup>2</sup>	1
Lumber	2	1	1	1
Cement	5	4	2	1
Prestressed reinforced concrete structures and items	None in prerevolutionary Russia		1	1
Woolens	-	-	1	1
Shoes	-	-	1	1
Granulated sugar (from domestic raw materials)	4	2	1	1
Animal fats	-	-	1	1

1. 1984

2. 1982

The Soviet Union has become a very big industrial state. It is in leading position in Europe and second in the world in the volume of industrial output.

In 1913 prerevolutionary Russia accounted for slightly over 4 percent of the world's industrial output; today the USSR accounts for 20 percent of the world's industrial output. At present our country is producing more industrial goods than were produced by the entire world in 1950.

# Production and Yields of Some Agricultural Commodities

	1913	1940	1960	1970	1980	1985
Gross agricultural output (in comparable 1973 prices), billion rubles	35.1	49.3	78.7	108.4	122.0	135.2
Gross farm crop harvest, million tons:						
Grain	86.0	95.6	125.5	186.8	189.1	191.7
Cotton	0.74	2.24	4.29	6.89	9.96	8.75
Sugar beets (factory)	11.3	18.0	57.7	78.9	81.0	82.1
Sunflower	0.75	2.64	3.97	6.14	4.62	5.23
Flax, 1,000 tons	401	349	425	456	284	352
Potatoes	31.9	76.1	84.4	96.8	67.0	73.0
Vegetables	5.5	13.7	16.6	21.2	27.3	28.1
Farm crop yields, quintals per hectare:						
Grain crops	8.2	8.6	10.9	15.6	14.9	16.2
Cotton	10.6	10.8	19.6	25.1	31.7	26.4
Sugar beets (factory)	168	146	191	237	218	241
Sunflower	7.6	7.4	9.4	12.8	10.6	12.9
Flax	3.2	1.7	2.6	3.6	2.5	3.5
Potatoes	76	99	92	120	96	113
Vegetables	84	91	111	138	150	157
Production of basic livestock products:						
Meat (slaughtered weight), million tons	5.0	4.7	8.7	12.3	15.1	17.1
Milk, million tons	29.4	33.6	61.7	83.0	90.9	98.6
Eggs, billion	11.9	12.2	27.4	40.7	67.9	77.3
Wool (physical weight), thousand tons	192	161	339	402	443	447

In 1917 gross harvests totaled 54.6 million tons for grain and 0.5 million tons for cotton. Meat production (slaughtered weight) totaled 4.3 million tons and milk, 24.2 million tons.

The USSR has developed large-scale socialist agricultural production. Under the Soviet system total agricultural output increased by a factor of 5.1, while agricultural employment decreased by a factor of 1.6.



Means of Communication  
(end of year; thousand kilometers)

	1917	1940	1960	1970	1980	1985
Operational length, Ministry of						
Railroads Tracks	70.3	106.1	125.8	135.2	141.8	144.9
Internal waterways	42.5	108.9	137.9	144.5	142.0	126.6
Main petroleum pipelines and petroleum-pipeline products	1.1	4.1	17.3	37.4	69.7	81.0
Paved motor vehicle roads for public use	25.0	143.4	258.4	489.0	723.5	812
Air lines (excluding overlapping areas)	-	146	375	773	996	1,115

Freight and Passenger Transportation  
(public use transport of all types)

	1917	1940	1960	1970	1980	1985
Freight hauling, total,						
billion t/km	85.8	494	1,898	3,961	6,781	7,808
Including rail transport	63.0	421	1,504	2,495	3,440	3,718
Passenger transportation, total,						
billion passenger/km	23.0	109	255	561	901	1,018
Including by rail	22.0	100	176	274	342	374

1. Including trucking for the entire national economy.

Under the Soviet system, the USSR developed a unified transport system which, in terms of technical equipment, organization and volume of work ranks among the best in the world.

Commissioning of Capital Assets  
(incomparable prices (1); billion rubles)

Year	Total Installed Fixed Assets by State and Cooperative Enterprises and Organizations, Kolkhozes and the Population	Including State and Cooperative Enterprises and Organizations
Total, 1918-1985	3,034	2,685
Including:		
1940	6.8	5.9
1960	43.5	36.8
1970	87.4	77.7
1980	148.9	134.2
1985	172.6	154.8

Capital Investments  
(incomparable prices (1); billion rubles)

Year	Total Capital Investments	Including State and Cooperative Enterprises Organizations
Total, 1918-1985	3,237	2,875
Including:		
1940	7.5	6.5
1960	47.6	40.6
1970	92.2	82.0
1980	150.9	136.0
1985	179.5	161.6

(1) For capital construction, the estimated prices for 1 January 1984 are used as a basis of comparison.

Foreign Trade of the USSR  
(in actual prices; billion rubles)

Year	Foreign Trade	Exports	Imports
1922/23	0.2	0.1	0.1
1940	0.5	0.2	0.3
1960	10.1	5.0	5.1
1970	22.1	11.5	10.6
1980	94.1	49.6	44.5
1985	141.6	72.5	69.1

The Soviet Union is actively developing economic relations with many countries throughout the world. Such relations are a factor of major international significance, consistent with the interest of the struggle for peace and social progress.

Currently the Soviet Union maintains trade relations with 145 countries; trade with more than 70 countries is based on long-term commercial agreements.

In 1985 61 percent of Soviet foreign trade was with the socialist countries.

The implementation of the strategy of accelerated socioeconomic development of the country, formulated at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and enriched and approved at the 27th CPSU Congress, is of historical significance to our homeland.

The scale of such work is tremendous. Particular significance is ascribed to the 12th 5-Year Plan. Its purpose is the elimination of the negative trends which appeared in the development of the national economy in the 1970s and beginning of 1980s, ensure a real upturn in all economic sectors and areas of activity, firmly converting to intensive growth and, at the same time, laying firm foundations for further progress.

The Economic and Social Development of the USSR  
in the Eleventh and Twelfth 5-Year Periods  
(percent)

	1981-1985	1986-1990 (5-Year Plan)
National income used for consumption and accumulation	3.1	4.1
Industrial output	3.7	4.6
Gross agricultural output (1)	1.1	2.7
Capital investments	3.7	4.9
Social labor productivity	3.1	4.2
Reduced power intensiveness of generated national income	1.1	1.7
Reduced metal-intensiveness of generated national income	2.2	2.9
Real per capital income	2.1	2.7
Retail trade, state and cooperative (excluding alcoholic beverages)	4.0	5.9
Population paid services	5.0	8.4

1. Compared with the average annual output for the preceding 5-year period.

The concept of acceleration, which is the base of this plan, is manifested not only in the pace but also in a substantial increase in the absolute growth of the most important economic indicators. The national income used for consumption and accumulation will be increased in the 12th 5-year period by 124 billion rubles as compared with 79 billion in the past 5-year period (in 1983 prices). Industrial output will increase by 200 billion rubles, compared with 133 billion rubles during the 11th 5-year period. The average annual volume of agricultural output will increase by 29 billion as against 10 billion rubles.

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REGULAR ENROLLMENT OF STUDENTS AND GRADUATE STUDENTS AT REPUBLIC AND INTEROBLAST HIGHER PARTY SCHOOLS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 13 Jan 87) p 128

[Text] The regular enrollment of students and graduate students at republic and interoblast higher party schools is hereby announced.

Enrollment will be based on recommendations of central committees of communist parties of union republics, kraykoms, obkoms and the Moscow City Party Committee. Personnel of central organizations and ideological institutions must be recommended by the party committees (collegiums) of these organizations and establishments via the Moscow City CPSU gorkom.

The higher party schools will accept CPSU members with party seniority of no less than 3 years among senior personnel of the party apparatus, released secretaries of primary party organizations, personnel of soviet and Komsomol bodies, ideological institutions and organizations, national economic specialists and workers and kolkhoz members, who are members of party committees or deputies of soviets of people's deputies, as follows:

Higher school graduates: 2-year full-time and 3-year correspondence departments;

With secondary training: 4-year full-time departments.

Applicants to full-time higher party schools must be under 30-35 years old.

By 1 April 1987 the central committees of communist parties of union republics, kraykoms, obkoms and the Moscow City Party Committee must submit to the higher party schools the application, excerpt from the buro decree, personal registration file, and health certificate of recommended personnel.

Applicants will be invited for a talk at the higher party schools in April-May. Those recommended for the 4-year department will also take an entrance written examination (dictation) in the Russian language.

Classes at the higher party schools will begin on 1 September.

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